

HISTORY OF ENGLAND

PART II: 1485–1714

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By D M GLEW, M A, and
HAROLD PLASKITT, M A

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PREFACE

THIS book is intended, in the first place, for the use of pupils in the middle and upper forms of schools, but it will also be of value to others who are seeking an outline of the history of England to form a basis for further, or specialised, reading.

The authors have attempted, throughout, to treat history not merely as a narrative of events, but in such a way that the connection between cause and effect is definitely shown: it is clearly indicated that the various developments of the story have a correlated meaning, that the history of any country is in fact a continuous growth, its institutions being constantly changing and developing organisms, and that the present, however superficially different, has been moulded by the past, and cannot be understood unless that past is known and appreciated.

The main thread of the story is of course the history of England itself from the successive waves of invasion that went to the making of the English people, onward through the development of religious, social, and political institutions, to modern times. But the history of a nation cannot be isolated from world history, and England, more than other countries perhaps, has always been closely mixed in world affairs. A good deal of space has been given, therefore, to European history in order to place English foreign policy in its proper context. In the same way, though English colonisation has been treated in more detail than that of other nations, the penetration and division of the world by the other European Nations has been traced, particularly in the case of Africa and the Far East.

The history of the self-governing Dominions has been sketched, and some prominence given to India and its problems. Moreover—a subject surprisingly neglected in many textbooks—an attempt has been made to deal with the expansion, during the last and present century, of the United States of America, and with the history of China since the western nations began their penetration of that country.

For some of the many illustrations incorporated in the work thanks are due to the Keeper and Secretary of the London Museum, the Manchester Corporation, the British Museum, the Victoria and Albert Museum, and the Public Record Office.

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PART II—(1485-1714)

CHAPTER XIX

THE RENAISSANCE

SOCIAL CHANGES

In the year 1485 Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, having defeated and killed Richard III in the Battle of Bosworth, was crowned king of England as Henry VII. It is at this point that many English historians begin their account of modern history, as if the Middle Ages, that began when the northern barbarians broke into and destroyed the Roman Empire, had died with Richard on Bosworth Field.

But Europe had been changing and falling into disorder for a long time. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries many modern ideas and institutions began to appear, and many medieval ones became useless and out of date. These changes were gradual, and there was no real breach with the past until, in the fifteenth century so great a revolution in ways of thought and life occurred, that a new age seemed to have dawned. This period was named the "Renaissance," or "re-birth." At the same time a series of brilliant discoveries enlarged the size of the known world. Much that was medieval remained, but only as a survival in a new age. Though the problems and policy of Henry VII are very like those of the Yorkist, Edward IV, we place him at the beginning of modern history, as the first of those Tudor sovereigns under whose rule England became a modern state.

Such a state as modern France or England, with a language and literature of its own, a strong central government, and a people so conscious of its own nationality that they regard the people of other nations as foreigners, was virtually unknown in the Middle Ages. Modern states were then developing slowly out of the mixture of tribes and races that had settled in Europe after the fall of the Roman Empire. In medieval England, the upper classes spoke French, of a sort, till the later years of the

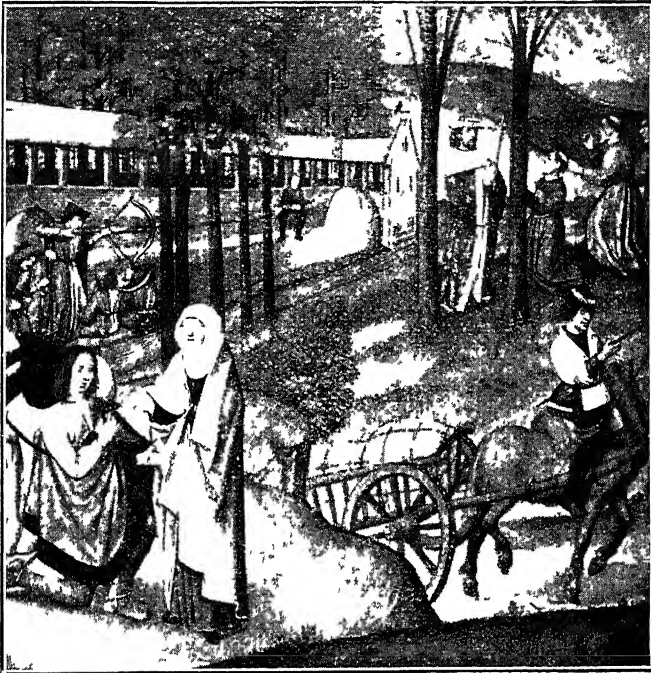
fourteenth century The central government was weak, and men cared more for the authority of their local baron than for that of the king It was only slowly that Briton, Saxon, Dane, and Norman began to feel themselves one English nation

The patriotic England of Tudor times and the strong Tudor monarchy are modern, not medieval In studying their history, we find that other national states and other strong monarchies arose in Europe at the same period Medieval "Christendom," to which the Christian people of western Europe felt that they belonged, had disappeared, and the divided Europe of modern times had taken its place

The change from medieval to modern times brought with it an increase of personal liberty The spread of commutation, that is, the practice of accepting a money rent for land instead of labour services, had changed the status of the villeins, and in the sixteenth century serfdom had practically disappeared in England In the Middle Ages society had been divided into many groups, each with its own rules and customs, which its members were expected to obey A craftsman could not work where and as he pleased, he had to belong to a guild, and the man who worked on the land belonged to a particular manor, and was under the authority of its lord The medieval idea was that each man should have a fixed place in society, and should belong to some group, or lord, who could answer for his good behaviour But as money came into more common use, the agricultural worker became either a rent-paying farmer, or a labourer who worked for wages and could move about the country New industries, such as the cloth trade, developed in places where guilds did not exist People were more free to do as they pleased, and to move about the country at will, but in gaining this freedom they had lost a certain amount of protection Until the rise of trade unionism, workers had no organisation to look after their interests, and to see that they received just treatment and fair wages

A very important development that took place in the later Middle Ages was the growth of a middle class In medieval times there was a wide gulf between common people and those of gentle birth A clever man of low birth had small hope of rising to a great position, unless he entered the Church But, as trade grew more important, the merchants in towns became very rich They had as much money as great nobles, and lived

in equal luxury. They began to intermarry with families of gentle blood, and sometimes they themselves were ennobled, as were the de la Poles of Hull, who became Earls of Suffolk. During the Hundred Years' War the King began to borrow money from English merchants instead of from foreigners. In the fifteenth century Edward IV himself put money into



MERCHANT WITH CART-LOAD OF MERCHANDISE

From British Museum MS Reg 19c VIII, 1496

mercantile ventures and associated freely with the rich Londoners.

At the same time the nobles were becoming more distinct from ordinary gentlemen. Merchants, lawyers, and small gentry were drawing together to form one class. This process was made easier by the fact that, in Parliament, the knights of the shire sat with the burgesses, and so they had an opportunity to

develop and recognise the interests that they had in common. Also the modern distinction between master and workman was developing. In industry, the workman member of a gild no longer found it easy to become a master, but probably remained a workman all his life. Outside the gilds, the new cloth-making industry was run, as a rule, by capitalist employers, who, like a modern employer, hired workers for the various processes of manufacture, without being a craftsman himself. So a distinction arose, not only between the middle class and the nobility, but between the middle and working classes. Since middle class people usually wanted to attend to their trade or farming in peace, the Tudor monarchs were able to rely upon their support in curbing the power of the nobility and making England into an orderly modern state.

LIMITATIONS OF MEDIEVAL THOUGHT

During the last centuries of the Middle Ages the growth of nationalism and personal freedom, and the rise of a middle class had been slowly preparing the way for the change from medieval to modern ways of living. In the fifteenth century the Renaissance, which was the beginning of modern methods of thought, caused a breach with the past, and such a great change in art, literature and knowledge that people felt that a new age had begun.

In the Middle Ages learning was closely connected with religion. If a man wanted to study, he entered the Church, and it was so usual for a man of learning to be a churchman that the same name, "clerk," was given to both. Theology was the most important of all studies, and other branches of learning had to agree, or to be made to agree, with the religious teaching of the Church. Great respect was felt for the theologians and religious writers of the past, such as Gregory the Great, St. Augustine, St. Jerome, and other "Fathers of the Church." If a man wanted to support an idea, he looked for arguments in its favour in the writings of such men as these, in the Vulgate, the Latin version of the Scriptures, or in such classical authors as were known to him. Freedom of thought was out of favour. If a man's writings and ideas conflicted with those accepted by the Church, they would probably be denounced as heresy. All this tended to make medieval thought narrow, for it tended always

to turn back to the same authorities instead of to free speculation or to unhampered observation of the outside world

The Middle Ages produced many fine scholars and learned men. Though some of these showed a tendency to rebel against the limitations placed upon thought, the very necessity of making everything agree with existing ideas about truth caused them to become clever and subtle arguers and logicians. But argument based on the same limited knowledge could not continue for ever, and in the fifteenth century men of intellect were beginning to wish for something new, and the revival of classical studies, known as the Renaissance, began in Italy.

THE RENAISSANCE IN EUROPE ERASMUS

The men of the Middle Ages were acquainted with the work of many classical writers, but knowledge of Greek had practically disappeared. Though the Greek philosopher, Aristotle, was one of the authorities they most studied and quoted, they knew his work only in bad and imperfect Latin versions. Moreover, they accepted classical ideas only in so far as they could be made to agree with the teaching of the Church. But the men of the Renaissance period found in the philosophy of the Greeks the freedom and breadth of thought that they had missed in medieval learning. Teachers of Greek were brought into Italy from Constantinople, where the work of the writers of ancient Greece had been preserved from destruction by the survival of the Eastern, or Byzantine Empire.

The scholars of Italy developed an interest in other things besides Greek philosophy. They studied Greek and Latin literature with enthusiasm, collected ancient statues and works of art, and took a great interest in classical architecture. They not only studied ancient models, but worked and experimented on their own, and fifteenth century Italy produced one of the most brilliant periods in art and literature the world has seen. Marvellous statues were carved, and marvellous buildings were erected. Artists such as Raphael, Michael Angelo, Leonardo da Vinci, and Botticelli painted their pictures. Genius of every kind suddenly appeared, and among other new things we find the establishment of a national literature. Such writers as Boccaccio and Petrarch followed the earlier example of Dante, and wrote their greatest work in Italian instead of Latin.



ERASMUS

By Holbein, in the Louvre

The Renaissance began in Italy because there were many things to make that country favourable to a revival of learning. The centre of the Roman Empire had been there, and its ruins and traditions still remained. The Italian cities had grown rich and independent because they controlled the trade of the Mediterranean, and their people were more cultured and civilised.

than those of the other countries of western Europe. The rulers of these cities, the Medici in Florence, and the Sforzas in Milan, were patrons of art and literature, as were also the Popes of this period. But it was only slowly that the new learning spread to other countries, though it was helped by the invention of printing. In England, Humphrey of Gloucester, Henry VI's uncle, was interested by it, as were the Woodvilles, the favourites of Edward IV. But English scholars had to go to Italy to learn Greek till Grocyn began to teach it at Oxford in Henry VII's reign. Under the early Tudors the classical revival produced such great English scholars as Colet and Sir Thomas More. Italian culture became fashionable in England, and its influence helped to inspire the great literature of the Elizabethan period.

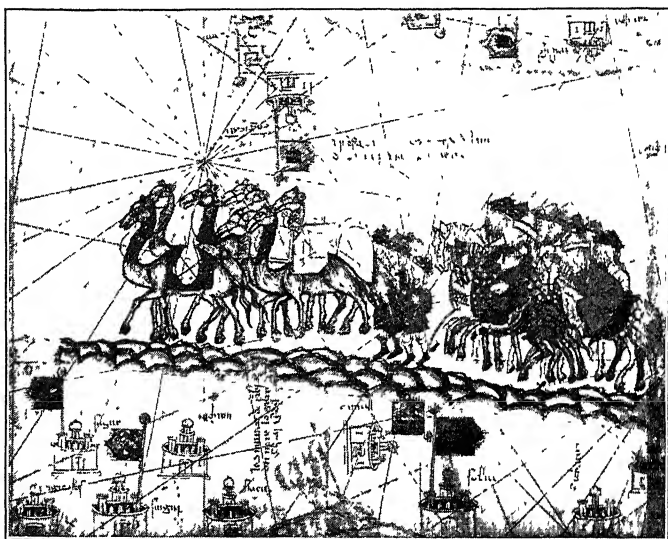
In Italy the Renaissance had chiefly affected art and literature. In northern Europe scholars were more inclined to use their new knowledge in studying and criticising religious teaching and the writings of the Church Fathers. This tendency is shown in the work of the greatest scholar of the northern Renaissance, Erasmus. He was a poor man, a native of Rotterdam, who had been educated in a monastery, but did not like the monastic life, and wrote satires about it. He led a wandering existence, and spent some time in England, where he taught at Cambridge, and was the friend of Colet and More. One of his most important works was the editing of the Greek Testament, in the notes to which he pointed out errors in certain doctrines of the Church.

The improvement of classical scholarship by the revival of the study of classical Greek and Latin had made scholars able to detect errors in existing editions of the New Testament, the Latin Vulgate, and the Fathers, and in documents on which the Popes founded some of their claims to authority. From this, the intellectuals of northern Europe were to proceed to criticism of the Church's teaching, and authority. By his criticism and editing of works of religious importance Erasmus paved the way for the Reformation. He also denounced many abuses in the Church, and especially in monastic life, though he himself remained a good Catholic till his death.

EXPLORATION AND DISCOVERY

The second half of the fifteenth century was a period of great geographical discoveries, the two most important of which were the discovery of America, and that of the Cape route to India.

The world known to the people of Europe during the Middle Ages, was, like the world of classical times, a limited one. England was on the edge of it, because no one knew of the existence of land beyond the Atlantic. The Mediterranean coast of Africa was known, but northern Africa was in the hands of Mohammedans, and what lay beyond it was still a mystery. In the eastern Mediterranean pilgrims and Crusaders were well acquainted with the Holy Land, and with the Eastern, or Byzantine Empire, with its centre at Constantinople, which formed the barrier that protected western Europe against the Turks.



W F Mansell

AN OLD MAP SHOWING AN EASTERN CARAVAN SETTING OUT ON A JOURNEY.

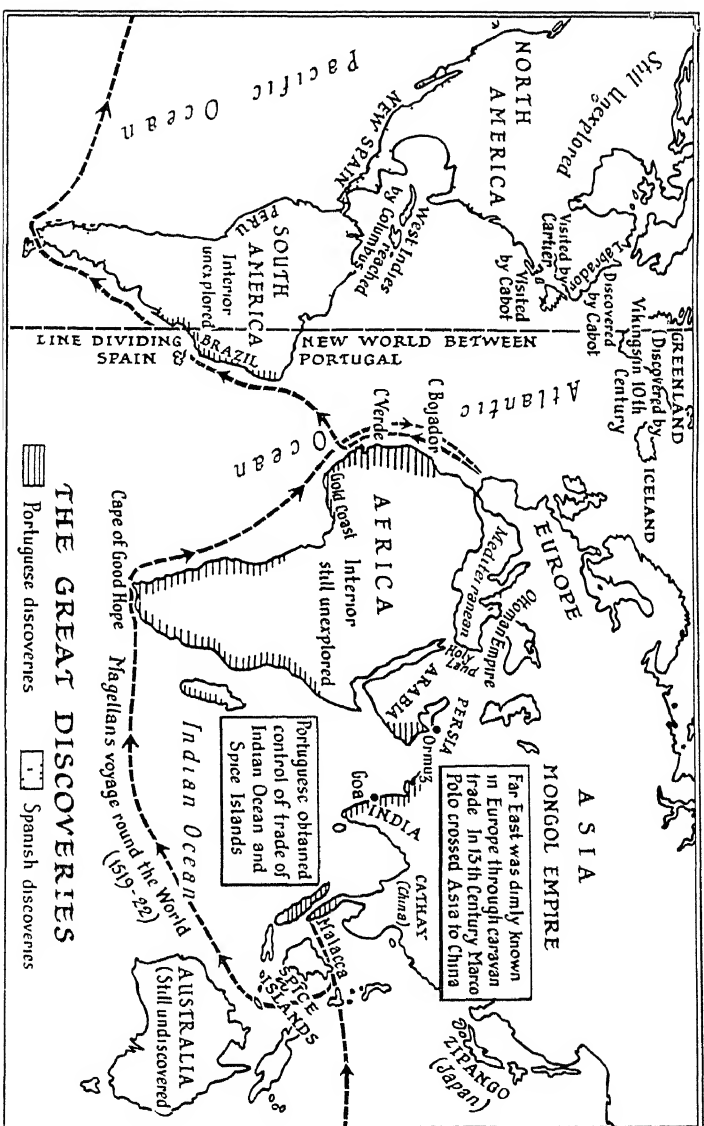
Asia was not completely unknown, because caravans brought Eastern spices and other luxuries into Europe. But knowledge concerning it was very vague and legendary, for few Europeans went there. In the thirteenth century Marco Polo, a Venetian, had travelled for years in Asia, and had stayed in China, which he called "Cathay." He had even gathered news about Japan, which he called "Cipangu." For a long time the truth of the wonders that he related was much doubted, though he is now

known to have been both truthful and an accurate observer. But for Europeans, the Mediterranean sea remained the centre of the world and of trade. After their long caravan journeys overland, Eastern goods entered Europe by it, through Italian ports, such as Venice and Genoa, and this commercial importance was the cause of the wealth and independence of the Italian cities.

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the Ottoman Turks, a new race of Mongol invaders from Central Asia, had overcome the Seljuk Turks, with whom Europe and the Eastern Empire had previously had to deal. In 1453 they destroyed the Eastern Empire, by capturing Constantinople, and began to threaten western Europe itself. Moreover, their advance had blocked the trade routes between Europe and Asia, for the caravans which brought goods from India and China could no longer pass freely to and fro. This caused Europeans to consider whether it might be possible to reach India and China by sea, and so began the fifteenth century era of exploration.

Most of the sea trade of the Mediterranean had been coasting trade, carried on by galleys, which were rowed by oars. But in the later Middle Ages the increased use of sailing ships, the compass, and instruments for determining latitude, had made long ocean voyages possible. In the fifteenth century there appeared a man of genius, who grasped and used this possibility. This was Prince Henry of Portugal, known as "Henry the Navigator," a descendant of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and a cousin of Henry V of England. He decided that it must be possible to find a route to India and the East round the south of Africa, and set himself to build ships, collect charts, and train seamen to find it.

Every year Prince Henry sent an expedition along the African coast, and 1434 Cape Bojador, which had always been thought to be the last point which could safely be reached, was rounded without disaster. The Portuguese began to take and sell African slaves, a practice that was not then thought wrong, and the chance of making money in this way increased their interest in exploration. Cape Verde had been rounded and the Gambia river reached before Prince Henry's death (1460). After this, explorers went further and further till, in 1488, Bartholomew Diaz, a Portuguese captain, sailed round the Cape of Good Hope into the Indian Ocean.

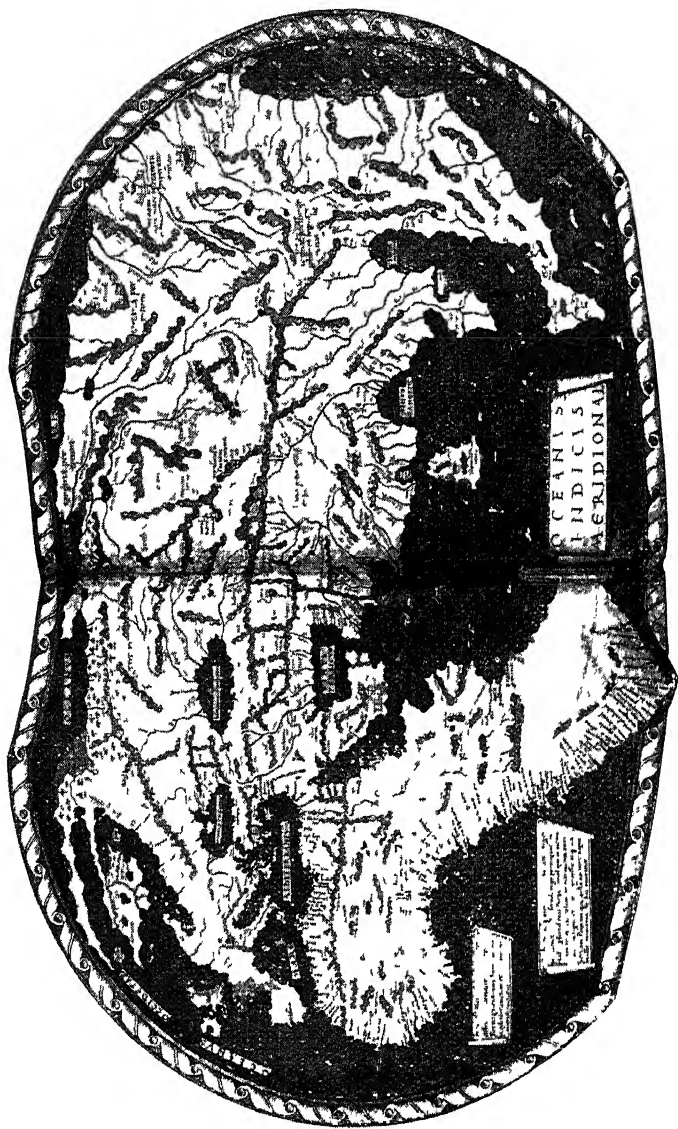


PORTUGUESE AND SPANISH ACHIEVEMENT

The trade of the Indian Ocean was in the hands of Mohammedans, and the Portuguese were the first Christian Europeans to appear there. In 1497 Vasco da Gama set out on a voyage round the Cape of Good Hope, and across to India. When this had been achieved the Portuguese determined to get control of the Indian Ocean and of the valuable spice trade. They appointed a "Viceroy of the Indies" to manage their affairs in the East, and established trading stations to collect goods for their ships. But they had to deal with Mohammedan opposition, and it was not till Albuquerque was their Viceroy (1509), that they became the masters of the Indian Ocean. Albuquerque, who was a great man though an unscrupulous one, seized for Portugal the most important points on the Indian Ocean. Goa for the Indian trade, Malacca to command the route to the Spice Islands, and, in the north, Ormuz on the Persian Gulf and Aden at the entrance to the Red Sea, so cutting off the spice trade that passed through Alexandria to Venice.

The Portuguese had opened out the sea route to India, but the Spaniards, the other great exploring nation of this period, turned their attention to the land across the Atlantic. Christopher Columbus, the discoverer of America, was a native of Genoa, but he had found no one in Italy who would give him ships and money for the expedition he desired to make. In the end he obtained support from Spain, and in 1492 crossed the Atlantic and reached the West Indies. It is interesting to remember that Columbus was not searching for a new continent. He had no idea that such a place as America existed, and had hoped that, by sailing west he might reach Cathay (China), and Cipangu. It was believed at first that this was what he had actually done. The first man who reached the mainland of America was a Florentine, Amerigo Vespucci, and it was his name that was given to it.

Spain and Portugal felt that the newly discovered lands were their especial property, and called upon the Pope to decide how they should be divided. In 1494 Pope Alexander VI granted to Spain all land beyond a line running from north to south 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands, and to Portugal all discoveries east of this line. This left America to Spain, and



British Museum

THE WORLD, DRAWN IN 1492 BY HENRICUS MARTELLUS GERMANUS

Africa and the Indian Ocean to Portugal, except Brazil in America which fell to the share of Portugal

The Spaniards soon began to explore and colonise Central America. In 1513 Balboa crossed the Isthmus of Panama, reaching the Pacific, and not long afterwards the town of Panama was founded. Then followed the brilliant conquests of Mexico and Peru. In Mexico the Spaniards found the powerful Aztec Empire, in which the warlike Aztecs had established their supremacy. But the races ruled by the Aztecs resented their government because their religion demanded innumerable human sacrifices. The divided state of the country enabled the Spaniards under Cortes, who had been sent to explore it, to obtain allies, and so he was able, though he had only about four hundred soldiers with him, to break the power of the Aztecs, and seize their capital, Mexico City (1521). Mexico fell under Spanish rule, and another Spanish leader, Pizarro, sailed down the west coast of South America and discovered Peru, ruled by the most powerful people in South America, the Inca race. Peru was conquered even more easily than Mexico, and in 1535, Lima, its Spanish capital, was founded. The Spaniards then began to make settlements in Chile.

Besides settling Central and South America the Spaniards were the first people to sail round the world. In 1519 an expedition under Magellan set out to attempt this. Magellan crossed the Atlantic, discovered and passed through the Straits of Magellan, between Tierra del Fuego and the South American mainland. He then crossed the Pacific and reached the Philippine Islands. He himself died before the Spice Islands were reached, but his ship, the "Victoria," completed the voyage round the world by crossing the Indian Ocean and sailing round Africa and back to Spain.

THE ENGLISH ATTITUDE

The beginning of exploration and settlement had been carried out by the Spaniards and Portuguese, and these two nations grew rich on the wealth derived from their new Empire. But other countries did not recognise the right to the new world bestowed upon Spain and Portugal by the Pope. In 1535 Cartier, a Frenchman, sailed up the St. Lawrence river in North America, and claimed the country for France. This was the beginning

of Canada The English had made an early start in exploration, for Henry VII had sent John and Sebastian Cabot to explore the North American coastline, and they discovered Labrador, Cape Breton Island, Newfoundland, and Nova Scotia But England was still a weak country, and Henry was employed in restoring order at home, so after the expeditions of the Cabots, the English took little part in exploration till Elizabeth's reign But the discoveries had changed England's position in the world She was no longer on the edge of things, but in the centre, in an excellent position for trading along the new sea routes to east and west Because of this it was possible for her to become wealthy and important, and to build up a great Empire On the other hand, the Italian cities declined because the Mediterranean had ceased to be the centre of commerce But in colonisation England was late in the field, and had to contend with powers whose expansion had been earlier In Elizabeth's time she engaged in a long struggle with Spain, which was trying to exclude other nations from America

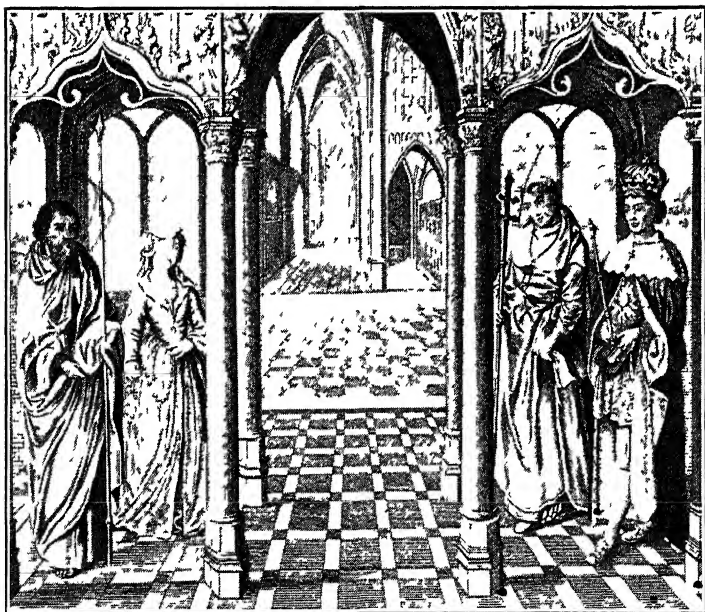
CHAPTER XX

THE NEW MONARCHY AND THE REIGN OF HENRY VII

HENRY VII's CLAIM TO THE THRONE

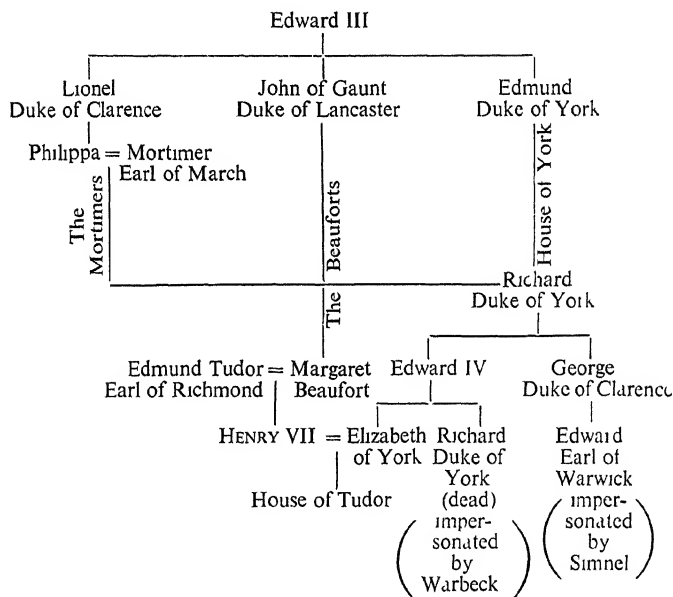
When Henry VII won the English crown at Bosworth, no one expected that the long struggle over the succession was almost at an end, and that Henry was to be the founder of a strong monarchy. It seemed only as if the leader of one of the factions of the Wars of the Roses had triumphed for a moment, but might very well be overthrown later by the Yorkist party.

Henry's hereditary claim to the throne was weak. His mother, Margaret Beaufort was, after the death of Henry VI and his son, the chief representative of the House of Lancaster. But John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, had married Catherine



MARRIAGE OF HENRY VII

Swynford, the mother of the Beauforts, after her children had been born, and their legitimacy depended on an Act of Parliament passed by Richard II. Moreover, the House of York had a better hereditary claim to the throne than the House of Lancaster. Of the Yorkist House, the most important survivors were Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV, and Edward, Earl of Warwick, the son of Edward IV's brother, George, Duke of Clarence. To make himself secure against Yorkist claimants, Henry married Elizabeth of York, and imprisoned the young Earl of Warwick in the Tower. But his own best legal title to the throne was the Act of Parliament that granted the Crown to him and to his heirs.



The first years of Henry's reign were spent in securing his throne against Yorkists attacks. The Yorkist party could still obtain support in Burgundy—where the Duchess Margaret was a sister of Edward IV—Scotland—always ready to weaken the English King—England and Ireland.

IRELAND AND THE YORKIST PRETENDERS

The history of Ireland in Henry VII's reign is closely bound up with that of the Yorkist party. English authority in Ireland was weak, and scarcely extended beyond the district round Dublin known as the English Pale. The rest of the country was practically independent. Some districts were still in the hands of native Irish chieftains, such as the O'Neils. Others were under the rule of Anglo-Norman families, such as the Fitzgeralds, who had settled in Ireland and had become Irish in their interests and sympathies. Of these families, the two branches of the Fitzgeralds, the Earls of Kildare and the Earls of Desmond, were the most powerful and important. Since Richard, Duke of York, had been sent to govern Ireland for a time, the Fitzgeralds had been strongly Yorkist in their sympathies. At Henry VII's accession the Earl of Kildare was, as Lord Deputy, the representative of the English government in Ireland, and Henry left him in this office. The result was that Ireland became a centre for Yorkist plots and for Yorkist pretenders to the throne.

Since the young Earl of Warwick was safely in the Tower, the Yorkist conspirators found a youth called Lambert Simnel to impersonate him. Simnel appeared in Ireland, and was welcomed by Kildare and the Irish nobles who crowned him king as "Edward VI". Margaret of Burgundy sent him money and soldiers, and he landed in England (1487), where the Yorkists rose in his favour. Henry VII defeated him at Stoke, near Newark, and took him prisoner. The King treated the rebels mercifully, for he had no wish to increase the hostility of the Yorkists to his rule.

When Simnel impersonated Warwick, Henry was able to bring the real Earl out of the Tower and show him in the streets of London. The next Yorkist pretender, Perkin Warbeck, claimed to be Richard, Duke of York, one of the two sons of Edward IV, who had been murdered in the Tower in Richard III's reign. It was difficult for Henry to prove that Richard of York was really dead, and Warbeck's claim was believed by a great many people. Margaret of Burgundy received him as her nephew, he was accepted by the Yorkists of Ireland, and when he took refuge in Scotland the Scottish King married him to a lady of high rank. His first attempt to invade England failed.

completely, but Henry could never feel safe while he was plotting with Yorkists in England and with foreign rulers. In 1497 a rebellion of Cornishmen who were angry at being asked to pay taxes for the defence of the Scottish border, was defeated at Blackheath. This gave Warbeck his opportunity, and he determined to land in Cornwall. Many Cornishmen joined him, but the invasion was a failure, for Warbeck lacked the spirit for battle, and when the King's forces appeared near Taunton, he left the army and took sanctuary. He was imprisoned in the Tower with Warwick, and in 1499 Henry had both of them executed on the rather poor pretext that they had attempted to escape. The real explanation was that he had determined to make his throne secure, and felt that if he could rid himself of all Yorkist claimants he had little to fear.

Irish support of Warbeck caused Henry to make an attempt to strengthen his own authority in Ireland. The Deputy, Kildare, was imprisoned for supporting the pretender, and Sir Edward Poynings became Lord Deputy in his place. Poynings took an army into Ireland, and attempted to impose English rule on the Irish by force. But the country was wild, and there were few roads, so to conquer it would have been a long struggle that was far beyond English resources. The attempt was therefore abandoned. But in so far as an English government existed in Ireland it was placed completely under English control, for by the laws known as "Poynings' Laws," (1494), or the Statute of Drogheda, it was enacted that an Irish Parliament could only be summoned with the consent of the English Council, which was also to approve all Irish laws before they were passed. Existing English Statutes were to be in force in Ireland as well as in England. These laws remained in force until the eighteenth century and deprived the Irish legislature of any freedom. Soon after they had been passed Henry gave up the attempt to reduce Ireland to submission, recalled Poynings, and restored Kildare to the deputyship.

THE TUDOR DESPOTISM

Henry VII, before he became king, had spent many years in exile while the Yorkists ruled England, and the experience had taught him to be careful to make his throne secure. During the first part of his reign, while he was troubled by

Yorkist pretenders, and the English had not yet learnt to regard him as more than a successful party leader, he tried to keep the goodwill of his people. He ruled with the help of Parliament, and showed himself very merciful towards rebels, in the hope that they would gradually become loyal subjects to him. But when the Yorkist rebellions were at an end he felt himself to be more secure. Troubling little with Parliament, he began to lay the foundations of the strong monarchy of the Tudor period.

Henry VII had no intention of making changes in the government of the country. Throughout his life he showed himself to be a prudent and cautious ruler, whose chief objects were to restore order and to make his family secure upon the throne. In character he was very unlike the lazy and extravagant, though able, Edward IV, for Henry was methodical and industrious, caring nothing for show unless display had political value. He was grasping, not through miserliness, for he could spend freely on such things as the Henry VII Chapel in Westminster Abbey, but because he saw the importance of money to a King who wished to have the power to rule as he pleased, instead of asking Parliament for supplies. In policy he resembled Edward IV closely in ruling without Parliament, raising money on his own authority, trying to lessen the power of the great nobles, and choosing his counsellors from the middle class and the gentry.

The Hundred Years' War had made the English nobles restless and disorderly. The bands of retainers that they had gathered together to follow them to the war had little to do but cause trouble when they returned to England. They oppressed the people among whom they lived, and if the law courts attempted to punish them they frightened the juries into declaring them not guilty. They formed the most important part of the armies that fought in the Wars of the Roses, and so long as each baron had a body of armed retainers in his service, fights between different factions of the nobility, and risings against the King were sure to take place.

Retainers had long been a cause of trouble, and various enactments had been passed against "Livery and Maintenance." "Livery" was the payment made to a retainer for his services, and from this the word came to be applied, in the sense in which we now use it, to the colours and badge that he wore to show to whose household he belonged. It was customary for a baron

to "maintain" his retainer's cause if he were attacked, even in the law-courts, so maintenance came to mean an interference with the course of justice. So long as the Wars of the Roses lasted, laws against such evils could not be carried into effect, because the King was too dependent on the barons of his own



London Electrotypic Agency

HENRY VII CHAPEL, WESTMINSTER ABBEY, SINCE RESTORATION,
SHOWING THE NEW ALTAR

party But in 1487 Henry VII revived the Statutes which forbade livery and maintenance, and set up a special court to deal with them He did a great deal towards the restoration of order, but the power of the nobility was not very effectively checked till the next reign

Henry VII and other Tudor rulers had a much better chance of crushing the power and independence of the nobles than earlier kings had had, for many noble families had been wiped out during the Wars of the Roses Also feudalism had decayed and was losing its importance In the Middle Ages even such strong kings as Edward I could be forced to give way to the wishes of great barons like the Lords Marcher But when kings began to use paid armies instead of feudal service great nobles and their retainers gradually lost their value to the country The Wars of the Roses saw their last struggle to control the government, and when the Tudor kings were victorious in that struggle, they had only to destroy the last remnants of the old baronial power to make themselves much stronger than any English kings had been before So, at the beginning of modern English history we find what is known as the "New Monarchy," or the "Tudor Despotism"

Henry did not employ the nobility to rule the country for him He used men from the gentry and middle classes Cardinal Morton, Sir Edward Poynings, and Sir Reginald Bray He did not call Parliament when he could avoid it, but, like Edward IV, levied benevolences and forced loans from rich people He knew that riches meant power to the Crown, and extorted money from his subjects in many ways that they resented In this work his chief agents were two lawyers, Empson and Dudley, who studied means by which people could be fined for old offences, or punished for breaches of forgotten law, and their methods caused them to be generally hated

EUROPE IN THE LATE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

Henry VII was chiefly interested in the task of giving order and good government to his own kingdom, and was far too shrewd to seek fame and glory in profitless foreign wars He regarded his foreign policy as a means of making his throne secure and of increasing the importance of England in Europe

England was not the only nation that became strong and

united at the end of the Middle Ages. In medieval France the nobles had been very powerful, and the King had had little authority over them. It was the disunity of the country that made it possible for the English to achieve their successes in the Hundred Years' War. But the struggle with the English helped to unite France and to give her people a sense of common nationality. When the war was at an end, the French kings were able to crush the independence of the nobles, after a hard struggle with the Dukes of Burgundy. The Duke of Brittany was the only vassal of the French Crown who now remained independent. Instead of being weak, the French monarchy was strong and rich, and, having established its rule at home, was ready to begin a struggle for power in western Europe.

In the Middle Ages Spain was divided into several kingdoms, the most important of which were Castile and Aragon. The Spaniards had a long fight to prevent the Moors, who had settled in the south of the peninsula, from overrunning the whole country. But Spain was united by the marriage of Ferdinand of Aragon to Isabella of Castile, and these two sovereigns ended the struggle with the Moors by the conquest of Granada, the last province to remain in their hands (1492). So in Spain, as well as in France and England, the foundations of national unity had now been laid.

Italy and Germany were still disunited. Italy was divided into a number of independent states under different rulers. The most important of these were Milan, Venice, and Florence in the north, the states ruled by the Pope in central Italy, and the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily in the south. Germany also was divided into semi-independent states, but these were loosely united in the Holy Roman Empire, established in the ninth century, when Charlemagne the Frank tried to unite Europe, and to revive the Roman Empire of classical times. The Emperor had by now come to be little more than a king of Germany, but he retained his ancient title, and his position was different from that of the king of a united nation like France. He did not succeed to his position by hereditary right, but was chosen by the votes of a number of German princes, known as "Electors." He had little real authority over the German states, whose rulers were almost independent. The Empire might have broken up altogether if it had not become usual to choose the Holy Roman Emperor from the Hapsburg family, who held many provinces

in their own right, and so were powerful enough to maintain the dignity and importance of the Emperor's position in Europe

FOREIGN POLICY OF HENRY VII

Of all the states in Europe France and Scotland were the most likely to unite against England, and Henry VII knew that the French court was ready to welcome and help pretenders to the English crown. When, on the death of the Duke of Brittany, the French King attempted to end the independence of that duchy, Henry felt that it was dangerous to England that a province so near to her coast should be under French control. He therefore supported the young Duchess Anne, the new ruler of Brittany, in her quarrel with France. Henry had for allies both the Emperor Maximilian, and Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. But there was nothing very noble in this struggle for Breton independence, for the Bretons and their supporters proved self-seeking and untrustworthy, and in the end the French gained their object by persuading Anne of Brittany to marry Charles VIII of France. So Henry had failed to save Brittany from union with the French Crown, and had gained nothing in return for the trouble and expense of the war. In spite of his caution, he was the last man in the world to accept such a defeat and he immediately demanded money from Parliament for a war with France.

Henry's management of the French war (1491) was characteristic. Again he had the support of Maximilian and of Spain, and found their alliance of little value. But he knew exactly what he wanted, and when Charles VIII, who did not want war with England, offered to pay him to abandon the Breton cause, he made peace in the Treaty of Etaples (1492). This annoyed the English, who felt that Henry's only object had been to save himself from losing money over the Breton campaigns.

England had little to fear from France during the rest of Henry's reign, for Charles VIII and his successor, Louis XII, were mainly interested in Italy. The French kings had inherited claims to rule Milan and Naples, and since the Spanish King, Ferdinand of Aragon, also had claims in south Italy, and the Emperor Maximilian wished to restore his authority over the Italian cities, Italy became a centre of European wars. Henry

VII. cared nothing for Italian affairs, but he was quite ready to extract any advantage he could out of his neighbours' difficulties. When the other European rulers united to drive the French out of Italy, he obtained, as price of his alliance, the marriage of his son, Arthur, to Catherine of Aragon, the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain (1501), thus gaining the support of Spain for his family's position on the English throne. After Arthur's death Catherine married Henry's second son, Henry VIII. Henry VII. also tried to detach Scotland from her French alliance by arranging a marriage between his daughter, Margaret Tudor, and James IV. of Scotland. Though this marriage did not keep the Scots friendly to England, it led finally to the union of Scotland and England under Margaret's descendants, the Stuart kings.

In the later years of Henry's reign, the European princes were engaged in a complicated series of quarrels, intrigues, and alliances, in which Henry showed his caution and ability by keeping England in a position of some importance without suffering himself to be drawn into war. Feelings of generosity never stopped him from using an advantage. He had made a treaty for free trade with Flanders, the "Great Intercourse" (1496), that was fair to both parties. But he took the opportunity when the heir to the Netherlands, Philip of Austria, was wrecked in England, to extract his consent to another treaty, the "Bad Intercourse" (1503), which was almost completely in his own favour. Much of his diplomacy was far from admirable, but the other rulers of the time behaved in a similar fashion. The best justification of Henry's policy, at home and abroad, is that he gave England a firmly established dynasty, and ended the long struggle for the throne, that he checked disorder and strengthened the government, and that his diplomacy and intrigues abroad made the English alliance valued by Europe at little cost to England herself.

CHAPTER XXI

HENRY VIII AND THE REFORMATION

CHARACTER OF HENRY VIII

When Henry VIII succeeded to the throne in 1509 he was popular, and it was generally expected that he would make a good king. His people admired him because he was young, handsome, fond of display, and skilful at all kinds of sports. But it was also seen that he had ability, and was interested in the important questions of the day. Like many men of the Renaissance, Henry is not easy to judge by modern standards. He was cultured, educated, fond of music, literature, art, and the society of intellectual men. Yet he was equally devoted to coarse pleasures, rough sports, and showy magnificence. He was often good-natured, generous, and attractive, but, especially as he grew older, he could be cruel and suspicious. He showed no mercy to those who had lost his favour or dared to oppose his will. At times he acted like a tyrant, yet no English king has worked more closely with Parliament. He understood his people and retained their affection till his death. Though thoroughly unscrupulous, he was a most able ruler, and the new power and authority of the monarchy made it possible for him to carry out important changes.

It was a long time before Henry began to show his political talents. In the first part of his reign, he seemed content to leave the government of his country to other people. At first he kept the counsellors of his father, with the exception of Empson and Dudley, whom he executed on very insufficient charges. Their work in raising money for Henry VII had made these lawyers generally hated, and their end is the first example of Henry VIII's skill and lack of scruple in winning popularity. Before long his father's other advisers were completely overshadowed by the power of a minister whom the new King chose for himself. This was Thomas Wolsey, who was, for many years, the real ruler of England.



HENRY VIII

WOLSEY

Wolsey was a man of low rank, the son of an Ipswich farmer. He was educated at Oxford, and entered the Church because it was still only as a churchman that a man of his birth could hope to rise to a great position. The first part of his career was a determined struggle to rise in the world. Though, from the service of one or two men of importance, he passed into that of Henry VII, it was not till he had obtained the favour of Henry VIII that he became powerful.

The remarkable thing about Wolsey is his ability to deal with almost any kind of work, and with a number of very different tasks at the same time. He could conduct war and foreign policy, cope with the discontented English nobility, play a great part in law and administration as Chancellor, and insist on interfering continually in the government of the English Church, though each of these tasks seems to be enough for one man. He did not achieve great results in any of them, but his energy and efficiency left its mark both on Church and State. Like many self-made men he was proud, greedy, and fond of show. The nobility hated him, but he was too clever not to be charming to those whom he wished to please. His power depended entirely on the King's favour, and he fell, in the end, because circumstances made him unable to fulfil Henry's wishes.

Wolsey first rose to power through the ability he showed in foreign affairs. Though it would have been wiser to continue the cautious policy of Henry VII, Henry VIII wanted something more showy and adventurous. Wolsey himself wished to play a great part in Europe, because his ambition was not limited to the service of an English king. He hoped to rise in the Church, and finally to become Pope, so he was concerned less with the real interests of England than with gaining the favour of the Papacy. He usually directed English foreign policy in imitation of that of the Pope. When Pope Julius II formed the Holy League (1511) to drive the French out of Italy, Wolsey persuaded Henry to join it, and to make war on France.

WOLSEY'S FOREIGN POLICY

The other members of the League, the Pope, the Emperor Maximilian, Ferdinand of Aragon, and Venice, had interests to guard in Italy, but England had little to gain by a French war.

Henry, when he invaded France had the satisfaction of a victory at Guinegate so complete that it was known as the "Battle of Spurs" (1513), because of the haste in which the French horsemen fled from the field. But he obtained no advantage by it. His allies proved untrustworthy, and Ferdinand made a separate peace. The French revived their alliance with Scotland, but



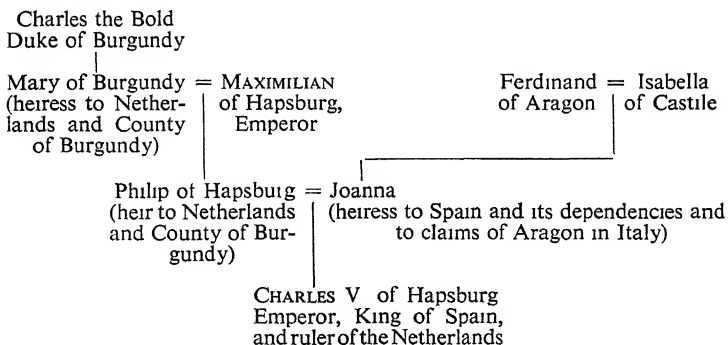
CARDINAL WOLSEY

when the Scots invaded England, they were defeated in the Battle of Flodden (1513), and their king, James IV, and many of the Scottish nobility were killed. The uselessness of the war, and the fact that the new Pope, Leo X, was peacefully inclined, led Wolsey to counsel peace with France. In 1514 it was arranged that the French king, Louis XII, should marry Henry's

sister, Mary Tudor, and that France and England should become allies instead of enemies

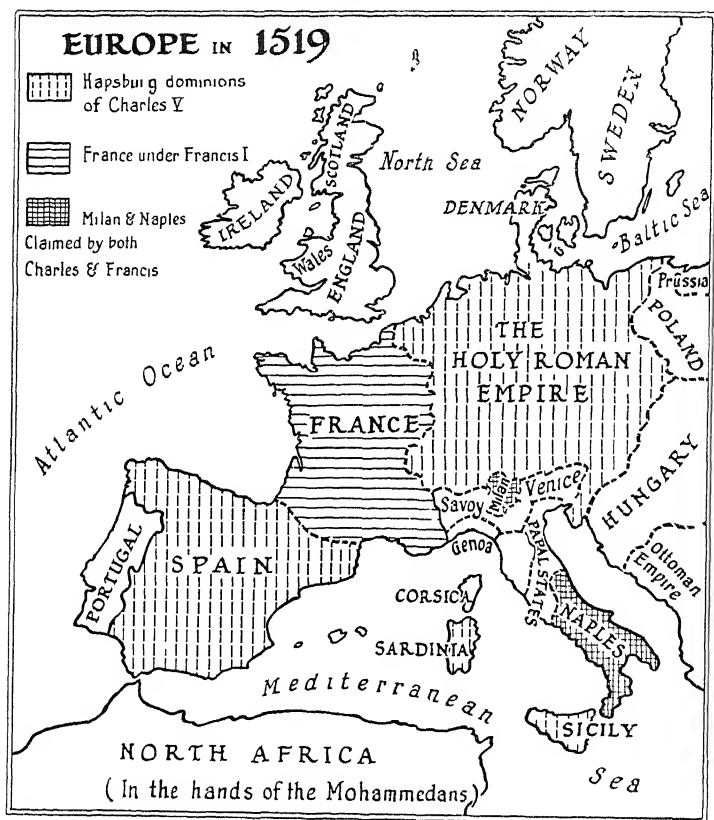
The only person who gained much by the French war was Wolsey. His management of it had impressed the King so much that he was made Chancellor. The Pope made him a Cardinal (1515), and then Papal Legate (1517), and the princes of Europe began to regard him, in their negotiations, as being more important than the English king. When Louis XII died (1515), a young and energetic man, Francis I, became king of France, and his success in Italy made Wolsey try to negotiate a "Universal Peace" (1518), but the scheme fell through.

Actually, Europe was on the verge of another struggle. Though France seemed successful at the moment, she was soon faced by a powerful rival. In 1516 Ferdinand of Aragon was succeeded in Spain by his grandson, Charles of Hapsburg, a young man who had already inherited, from one of his grandmothers, the Netherlands and those Burgundian lands that were outside France. Charles was also a grandson of the Emperor Maximilian, and when Maximilian died (1519), he bribed the Electors of Germany to choose him as Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. As Emperor, King of Spain, and ruler of the Netherlands and the County of Burgundy (Franche-Comte), Charles was the most powerful prince in Europe. He had also inherited the rivalry of his ancestors to the claims of France in Milan and Naples. His struggle with Francis I gave Wolsey the opportunity to bargain with both for English support.



Meetings were arranged with both Charles and Francis, and that between Henry and the French King was so magnificent that

it was known as the "Field of the Cloth of Gold" (1520) But Charles was in alliance with the Papacy, and this was a deciding factor in Wolsey's policy An alliance was arranged at Biuges



EUROPE IN 1519

between England and the Emperor, and in the next year (1522) Henry VIII agreed to make war on France

* This policy was a success neither for England, nor for Wolsey The war proved expensive, and Parliament could not be persuaded to grant enough money for it Nor did Charles, who

had promised to help Wolsey to become Pope, keep his word Henry and Wolsey tired of the alliance with the Emperor, but, just when they were thinking of abandoning it, Charles won a great victory. He defeated Francis I at Pavia (1525), and the French King was sent to Spain as a prisoner.

Charles knew that his English allies were unfaithful to him, so he gave them no share in the fruits of his victory. He was now so powerful in Italy, that the Pope became alarmed, and hostile. Wolsey, discontented with the Emperor, and eager to follow the Pope's lead, persuaded Henry to change sides in the European struggle, and made an alliance with France, after Imperial troops had made war on the Pope and sacked Rome (1527). This French alliance was extremely unpopular in England.

But neither Wolsey nor England was destined to gain anything by their change of sides. Charles V did not want a war with France. He was seriously hampered by the troubles caused in Germany by the Reformation, and by the attacks of the Turks on the eastern border of the Empire. So he made peace with Francis in the Treaty of Cambrai (1529), and neither party stopped to consider the English at all. After this, England was faced by religious problems at home, and dropped out of European politics for a time, having gained little of value by Wolsey's policy.

WOLSEY'S DOMESTIC POLICY

Wolsey's ambition to become head of the Catholic Church caused him to make foreign policy his chief interest. But he was, at the same time, as Chancellor, controlling the government of England. His work at home was of more lasting importance, though less showy, than his conduct of foreign affairs.

Like Henry VII Wolsey preferred to work without Parliament, which was summoned only once while he was in power. It then firmly resisted his attempts to make it grant taxes he wanted for the expenses of his warlike policy. He preferred to govern England through the King's Council. Under the Tudors this was no longer an assembly of powerful and unmanageable nobles, as it had been in Lancastrian times, but was composed of ministers dependent upon the royal favour.

Wolsey, like Henry VII, used a branch of the Council, the

Court of Star Chamber, to deal with cases of livery and maintenance, and so to crush the power of the nobles, who could not overawe Star Chamber as they could local juries. The use of such a court, which was under royal control and whose power depended upon royal authority, helped to make the King more despotic. But it freed the law courts from interference, and ordinary people benefited by the restoration of order. Wolsey also attempted to make it cheaper and easier for poor people to obtain justice. He tried to prevent landlords from enclosing land and throwing people out of work, but in this he was not particularly successful.

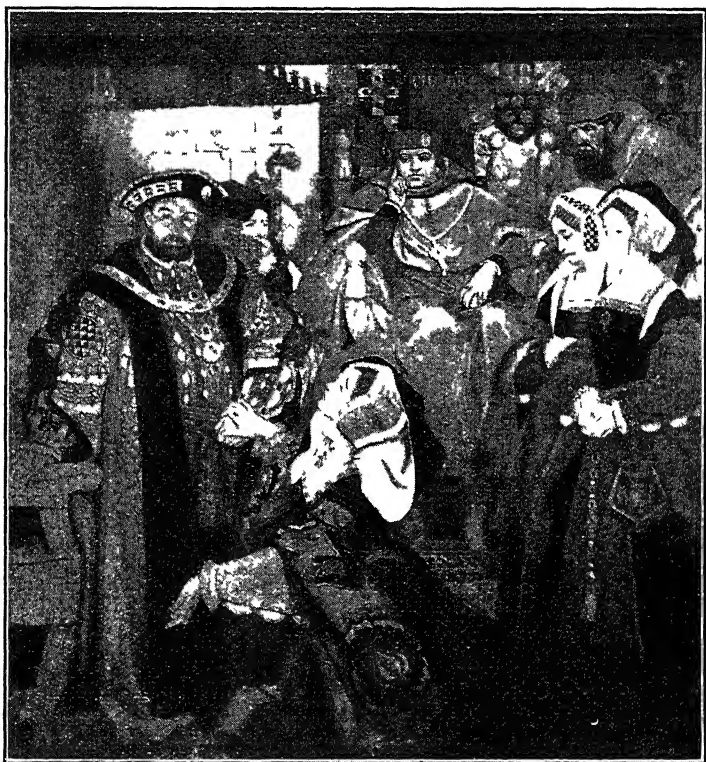
The great Cardinal attempted to do more than one man could manage. In addition to his work as Chancellor, he was constantly trying to extend his authority over the English Church as Legate, or representative of the Pope, and Cardinal Archbishop of York. The bishops were made almost as angry by his interference in the Church as were the nobles by his attempts to limit their power. He had plans for reforming some abuses, but effected little more than the dissolution of a few badly-conducted monasteries. But in uniting the control of Church and Kingdom under his own authority, he unconsciously paved the way for Henry VIII to do the same thing.

THE DIVORCE QUESTION AND FALL OF WOLSEY

Wolsey fell from power because he failed to obtain for Henry an annulment of his marriage with his wife, Catherine of Aragon. Of Catherine's children only one daughter, Mary, survived. England had never then been ruled by a woman, and it seemed very important to Henry that he should be able to marry a new wife, and have a son to succeed him. Catherine of Aragon's first husband had been Henry's elder brother, Arthur, so special permission from the Pope had been necessary for her marriage to Henry. It now seemed perfectly simple that the Pope should be induced to say that this permission had been wrongly given and to annul the marriage.

Under ordinary circumstances this might have been easy to arrange. But when, in 1527, Henry first instructed Wolsey to obtain a divorce, Rome had been sacked by Imperial troops, and Pope Clement VII was the Emperor's prisoner. Since Charles V was Catherine's nephew, Clement dared not offend him.

by granting Henry's request. He made a show of considering it, by appointing Wolsey and another Cardinal, Campeggio, to try the case. But he privately told Campeggio to spin out the trial in every possible way. Henry blamed Wolsey for the delay. When, in 1529, the Pope, through the Emperor's influence, called the case to Rome for his own decision, the King dismissed Wolsey from the Chancellorship, and accused him of having broken the law by the ways in which he had used his authority as Papal Legate.



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CARDINAL WOLSEY AT THE TRIAL OF KATHERINE OF ARAGON AND
HENRY VIII AT BLACKFRIARS, 1529

The fall of Wolsey was a great blow to the independence of the English Church. He was tried and condemned by the King's court to lose his property, though churchmen had always claimed that only their own courts should deal with their offences. At first the King was content to let him retire to his see of York, but in 1530, he was summoned to London to answer a charge of treason. He died at Leicester before he had completed his journey. His fall shows the unreliability of Henry's favour, and his lack of mercy in dealing with those who had been unfortunate enough to lose it.

His treatment of Wolsey showed Henry's determination to obtain his divorce. Though he no doubt believed that he could force the Pope to annul his marriage, he was prepared to risk a complete breach with the Papacy rather than leave the succession question unsettled. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries both Church and Papacy had become worldly and corrupt and their authority had declined. The Renaissance had led to much criticism of abuses in the Church, and the European Reformation had already begun. Under these circumstances Henry probably thought that the Pope would be unwilling to risk a quarrel with England. He knew, too, that the English disliked Papal interference, and were jealous of the wealth and privileges of the Church, so, if he summoned Parliament, there would be no difficulty in persuading it to pass acts to limit the power of the Pope and clergy.

THE REFORMATION PARLIAMENT AND THE CHURCH

Though Henry was quite as much of a despot as Wolsey had been, he realised that, by gaining Parliament's consent to his measures, he would make it clear that his policy had the support of his subjects. The Parliament that he summoned in 1529 is known as the "Reformation Parliament," because it cut the Church of England off from the Catholic Church in Rome.

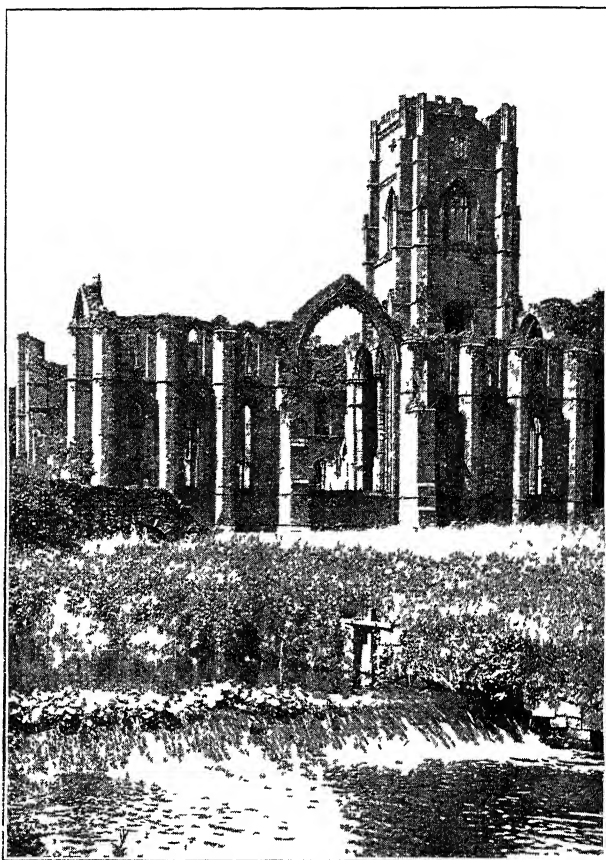
At first it was asked only to remedy certain abuses, such as the holding of several Church livings by one man (pluralities), and the charging of heavy fees for burial. But, by bullying the clergy, the King showed the Pope how much further he might go. He had already fined the clergy heavily for having submitted to Wolsey's alleged abuse of authority as Legate. He now forced them to acknowledge him as Head of the English Church, though

they insisted on limiting this acknowledgment by adding "so far as the law of Christ will allow" When this had no effect upon the Pope he passed through Parliament the first Act of Annates (1532), by which he was allowed, should he choose to do so, to stop the payment to the Pope of the first year's income from each living, or benefice, in the Church

So far Henry's policy had been to threaten the Pope, rather than definitely to quarrel with him Even when he proceeded to arrange for a divorce by the English Church, he may have hoped that the Pope would give way, and acknowledge it as valid His two chief advisers were now Cromwell and Cranmer Thomas Cromwell had been a servant of Wolsey He was a clever, though unscrupulous man, who would carry out any measures that the King desired Thomas Cranmer was a clergyman, who had been a Cambridge tutor, and whose religious ideas permitted him to support Henry's policy The King made Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury, and then passed the first Act of Appeals, which forbade the taking of cases concerned with marriage, wills, or divorce to Rome for decision This left the divorce question to be settled by the English Church, and Cranmer annulled Henry's marriage to Catherine, leaving the King free to marry his second wife, Anne Boleyn

But, instead of accepting the position, the Pope excommunicated Henry, and declared his marriage with Catherine still valid It was now far too late for the King to give way Anne Boleyn had been acknowledged as Queen of England, and a child, Elizabeth, had already been born of the marriage The first Succession Act (1534) had set aside Catherine's daughter, Mary, and given the crown to Anne's children Henry was impatient of interference, so he now determined to free the English Church altogether from the Pope's authority, and to establish it as a national Church under royal control He proceeded to do this with the help of Parliament The second Act of Appeals (1534) put an end to Papal interference in England by forbidding all appeals to Rome, and so leaving the English Church to decide its own affairs The second Act of Annates (1534) forbade the payments made to the Pope by the English Church, and also made arrangements for the appointment of bishops without reference to the Papacy At the same time the first Act of Supremacy (1534), made the King Supreme Head of the English Church

Having asserted his authority over the Church, Henry intended that it should be real. The Treasons Act was passed, making it treasonable to deny the royal supremacy. Under this Act, Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More were



FOUNTAINS ABBEY

Will Taylor

executed for refusing to acknowledge Henry as Head of the Church. These executions shocked many people, for Fisher was an excellent bishop, and More one of the most learned and enlightened men in England. Then in 1536 Henry gratified the

desire of his subjects for the wealth of the Church by passing through Parliament an Act for the dissolution of the smaller English monasteries. The monks and nuns were thrust out into the world to live on small pensions, while the King seized their estates and wealth. In the same year the Reformation Parliament, which had lasted for seven years (1529-36) was dissolved, leaving a great many questions concerning the new and independent English Church still unsettled.

THE GERMAN REFORMATION AND LUTHER

The Church in England had now ceased to be a part of the European Catholic Church, ruled by the Pope, and had become a separate, national Church, with the English King for its Head. Further religious changes seemed probable. Throughout Europe, some of the best and most intelligent men of the day had been agitating for religious reform. Many of these reformers, like Erasmus and Sir Thomas More, remained good Catholics, concerned only with the removal of abuses in the Church. Others, more extreme, disagreed with the Church's doctrine, and were ready to break away from it altogether, and to establish new religious communities.

The attack on the doctrine of the Church grew out of the critical spirit of the Renaissance. Knowledge of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew led to the re-editing of the Scriptures and the Church Fathers, and to the rejection of many medieval opinions regarding their teaching. The first person to carry this critical spirit to the point of a complete breach with Catholic doctrine was a German monk, Martin Luther. Luther passed from an attack on abuses connected with the sale of Indulgences (releases from penance) to an attack upon the authority of the Pope, and then to a rejection of Catholic doctrine. Reformers outside Germany considered Luther extreme, but many German princes upheld him, partly to support opposition to Papal exactions and partly because their overlord, the Emperor, supported the Pope. Lutheranism thus became a factor in the struggle of the German princes for independence of the Emperor's control. Civil war followed in Germany, and their protest against the Emperor's decrees earned for the Reformers the name of "Protestants." Meanwhile, a revival of Lollard doctrines had occurred in England at the beginning of Henry VIII's reign, and under the

influence of the Continental religious struggle, the English Lollards also became Protestant in their ideas

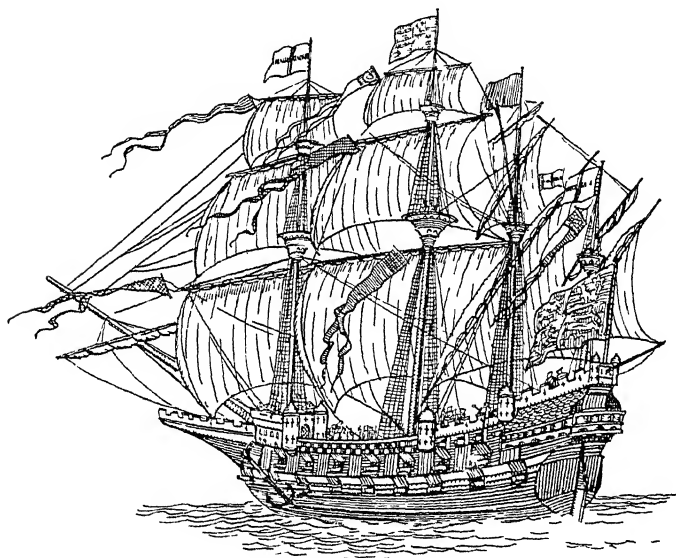
HENRY VIII AND PROTESTANTISM

The modern idea of religious freedom had not yet arisen, and the earlier Protestants, when they repudiated the authority of the Pope, believed that it was the duty of a King to decide the religion of his subjects. Henry VIII was, therefore, in agreement with the advanced ideas of his day, when he made himself Head of the Church. But Henry was far from being a Protestant. He had at one time written a book against Lutheranism, and had received from the Pope the title of "Defender of the Faith." The change he had made in church government was political rather than religious, and he desired to keep the English Church Catholic in its teaching and services but under his own authority instead of that of the Papacy.

Probably the greater number of his subjects were contented by his policy, which freed England from Papal interference, dealt with the succession question, and provided an excuse for plundering the Church. In 1536 Henry had got rid of Anne Boleyn, who had not had a son, by executing her on a charge of misconduct, and had married Jane Seymour. The birth of a son, Edward, seemed to have made the succession safe. Parliament passed a new Succession Act (1536), by which the Crown was to pass to Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth in turn, while the King was empowered to make further regulations for the succession by will.

A rising in the north, the "Pilgrimage of Grace" (1536) caused by the dissolution of the smaller monasteries, was repressed. In 1539 the King proceeded to dissolve the larger monasteries, and to grant or sell their lands to the gentry and middle class. In this way new land-owning families arose. These new landowners were sure to support the King against those who wanted to restore Papal authority, because they did not wish to lose the estates and wealth that they had acquired from the spoils of the Church. How far it was really true that the monasteries were corrupt and deserved dissolution, it is impossible to say. The royal commissioners sent by Cromwell to investigate them, were prejudiced by the knowledge that the King wanted an excuse to seize monastic lands.

Though he wanted to dissolve the monasteries, and to build up a party hostile to the restoration of Papal authority, Henry had no love for Protestantism. This was, however, slowly gaining ground under the influence of such men as Tyndale and Coverdale, translators of the Bible, Latimer, the great preacher and moralist, who showed little fear of the King or of any one else, and others who had been inspired by the Continental Reformers. But the Protestants were still weak in England, and Henry made a determined effort to suppress their teaching



THE GREAT HARRY

by passing through Parliament the Statute of Six Articles (1539) which ordered the acceptance of certain Catholic doctrines which Protestants denied. In enforcing this statute, he showed himself as ready to burn Protestants for heresy as he had been to execute the Catholics, More and Fisher, for refusing to acknowledge that he was Head of the English Church.

Meanwhile, England, with its national Church and Catholic belief, stood alone in Europe, which was becoming more and more divided by religious quarrels between Catholic and Protestant. Cromwell, Henry's chief adviser, was closely

connected with the party of religious change. He tried to ally England with the European Protestants by arranging a marriage between the King and the German Protestant princess, Anne of Cleves. But the King did not like Anne, so both the marriage and the Protestant alliance were set aside, and Cromwell lost the King's favour, fell from power, and was executed. Henry then married Catherine Howard, who belonged to the English Catholic party (1540). Two years later Catherine was executed for misconduct, and Henry married his last wife, Catherine Parr. Henry's last years were marked by intrigues of the Catholic and Protestant parties for supremacy on the Council. The King, on the whole, maintained a balance between the two religious parties, and kept the goodwill of the nation towards his own policy.

SCOTLAND AND WALES

Having completed his task of freeing England from the Papacy, Henry attempted to bring Scotland under his influence. James V had made a French marriage, which Henry felt to be dangerous to England. James was defeated at Solway Moss (1542), and died soon afterwards. He left the Scottish throne to an infant daughter, Mary, Queen of Scots. Scotland fell under the rule of the child's mother, Mary of Guise. Henry tried to force the Scots to agree that their little Queen should marry his son, Edward, but his attempt to impose his will on Scotland only strengthened the Scottish alliance with France. Henry's policy, both in Scotland and in the unprofitable French war, which he began about the same time, was a failure. His earlier attempt to unite Wales to England had been a success, and is one of the most important achievements of the reign.

In Wales Henry had the advantage of the popularity that his Welsh descent gained for him. In 1535, he was able to abolish the Marcher Lordships, and the Welsh Principality. Wales was divided into shires under the same government and laws as England, and with representation in the English Parliament. The religious question in England remained unsettled at his death, but he had established the political independence of the English Church, and, in this and other ways, had greatly strengthened the monarchy. Like other Tudors, he governed chiefly through the Council, but his use of Parliament increased its importance, and gave him national support.

CHAPTER XXII

THE PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION

GOVERNMENT OF SOMERSET

When Henry VIII died, his son, Edward VI, was still too young to reign. The government fell into the hands of the Council, who chose the new King's uncle, Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, to be Protector. Somerset was sincere and broad-minded. But he was an unsuccessful ruler, for, in his belief in religious liberty, his sympathy for the lower classes, and his scheme for a union of England and Scotland, he was in advance of his time. His methods of carrying his ideas into practice were unwise, and he was hampered by the ambitions of his fellow councillors. As Protector, he could not command the respect and devotion felt in Tudor times for the King himself.

In religious matters Somerset favoured the Reformers, though he was prepared to give a good deal of liberty to both parties. The Acts against heresy, and Henry VIII's Statute of Six Articles were repealed. The regulation of the English Church was left to Archbishop Cranmer and the Protestants. Each bishopric was visited and Catholic images of saints removed from the churches, because the Reformers regarded them as a sign of superstition. Since the Reformers objected to the use of Latin in Church services, and held that people should pray in their own language, a service-book, the First Prayer Book of Edward VI (1549), was issued in English. Its use in churches was ordered by the First Act of Uniformity (1549), but the new book was based on the Catholic services, and the penalties for omitting to use it were confined to the clergy.

These changes, though Protestant, left people much more religious freedom than they had ever had before. This pleased neither party. The Catholics objected to the changes that had been made, while the Reformers did not think that they had been carried far enough. Each party thought that it was the duty of the government to force acceptance of what it considered to be truth upon the nation. All but the advanced reformers disapproved of the swarm of religious extremists who now

flocked into England from the Continent to enjoy the toleration they could not find elsewhere. In the west, a rising in favour of the old services had to be repressed by force.

Somerset's religious policy had the vigorous support of neither party, and his policy with regard to Scotland failed even more completely. Like Henry VIII, he desired the marriage of Mary, Queen of Scots, to Edward VI, and the union of the two countries. But, unlike Henry, he was prepared to offer Scotland equality with England. Scotland, however, was under French influence, and had been made hostile by the attacks of Henry VIII. Moreover, Somerset's method of obtaining the union was not conciliatory, for he invaded Scotland and defeated the Scots in the Battle of Pinkie (1547). As English troops ravaged the Lowlands, the Scots became more hostile, and the little Queen was sent to France to marry the Dauphin.

In England Somerset had become unpopular with the nobility. He opposed their policy of buying up land and enclosing it in order to make money out of their estates, and he sympathised with the common people, who were being thrown out of work. In 1549 the men of Norfolk rebelled under a leader named Ket, and demanded that the exploitation of estates by the landholders should be checked. Somerset's sympathy with the rebels prevented him from dealing firmly with them. When the rebellion had been suppressed by the Earl of Warwick, Somerset fell from power, and the government of England passed into Warwick's hands. Two years later, Warwick had his rival executed.

GOVERNMENT OF NORTHUMBERLAND

John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, was the son of the lawyer, Dudley, who had served Henry VII and had been executed by Henry VIII. He was a good soldier, and a clever politician, and, like most of the new Tudor nobility, owed his position to his talents. He was ambitious, devoted only to his own interests, and thoroughly unscrupulous. He obtained for himself the title of Duke of Northumberland, but he did not excite the jealousy of the Council by taking that of Protector. Since his chief supporters were Reformers, and since the young King, Edward VI, had received a Protestant education, Northumberland became an advanced Protestant for political reasons. But his personal beliefs, so far as any indication of them exists, appear to have

been Catholic. He completed the establishment of Protestant services and doctrines in the English Church, that Somerset had begun.

To please the Reformers, a new prayer-book, the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI (1552) was issued. This book was more Protestant in character than the previous one. By the Second Act of Uniformity (1552), which ordered its use, a fine of a shilling was imposed on laymen for absence from Church. This was a definite attempt to impose Protestantism on England. In 1553 the new doctrines of the English Church were laid down in Forty-two Articles, drawn up by Cranmer.

These changes in doctrine and services were not popular. In the reigns of both Henry VIII and Edward VI religious changes were the work of the government and not the people, but Henry VIII's breach with the Papacy had been acceptable to the nation. The English Protestants, though energetic and influential, were comparatively few. Most English people disliked changes in the services to which they had been accustomed, though not sufficiently to resist them by rebellion. Also the disorder in the Church, and the plundering of religious institutions scandalised the more respectable part of the nation. The monasteries having been dissolved in Henry VIII's reign, Somerset's government had sought new plunder. It began to seize those endowments of corporations, such as the guilds, which were intended for religious purposes. The seizing of endowments continued under Northumberland, and the government also took what was left of Church plate, much of which had already been stolen by private people in the general disorder. In some cases even the lead from the roofs of churches was taken.

Northumberland's government was so unpopular that the Duke realised he depended entirely on his influence over the young King, Edward VI. But Edward had always been delicate and was now rapidly dying of consumption. In accordance with Henry VIII's arrangement of the succession, the heir to the throne was Edward's sister, Mary, who was a rigid Catholic. Northumberland could have no hope of obtaining her favour. By playing upon Edward's Protestant sympathies he persuaded him to set aside both his sisters, and to leave the crown by will to his cousin, Lady Jane Grey, the granddaughter of Henry VIII's sister, Mary Tudor. Northumberland married Lady Jane Grey to his son, Lord Guildford Dudley, and so made a

*Gooch*

MARY.

From the picture in the New Palace of Westminster

bold attempt to place his own family on the throne. But Edward had no legal right to alter the succession. The consent of the Council was reluctant and, on Edward's death, the nation showed unmistakably that it preferred Mary. Even Northumberland's own soldiers deserted him, and after a reign of nine days Lady Jane was sent to the Tower, Mary became Queen, and Northumberland was executed.

MARY AND THE CATHOLIC REACTION

During the short reign of Edward VI, Somerset and Northumberland had made the new national English Church Protestant in doctrine. Every one regarded the accession of Queen Mary as a triumph for the Catholic party. Yet the English people showed plainly that they preferred Mary to the Protestant Lady Jane. Protestants were still in a minority, and most of the nation felt that it was the business of their ruler to decide what doctrine should be taught by the Church. Nor had the greed and self-seeking of Northumberland endeared Protestant government to them.

Mary was a sincere Catholic. As the daughter of Catherine of Aragon, she was bitterly opposed to her father's breach with the Papacy, because it was closely associated with her mother's divorce and misfortunes. Like all the Tudors, she was strong-willed and obstinate. Attempts to force her to accept the religious changes of the day had only made her more rigidly Catholic. When she came to the throne she was almost thirty-eight, very self-opinionated, and determined to restore the old religion.

The religious changes of Edward VI's reign had not been popular. Probably, when Mary repealed the Acts of Uniformity, got rid of the English Prayer Book, and restored the Catholic services, to which people were accustomed, most of the nation were quite well pleased. The revival of the heresy laws and of the Statute of Six Articles drove out of England, not only foreign refugees, but many Protestants. Married clergy were expelled from their livings, and the Catholic party in the Church was placed in the ascendant. The Queen fully intended to restore the authority of the Pope over the English Church. But she felt that, before she attempted this, she must strengthen her position. For this purpose she decided upon a foreign marriage alliance.

THE SPANISH MARRIAGE

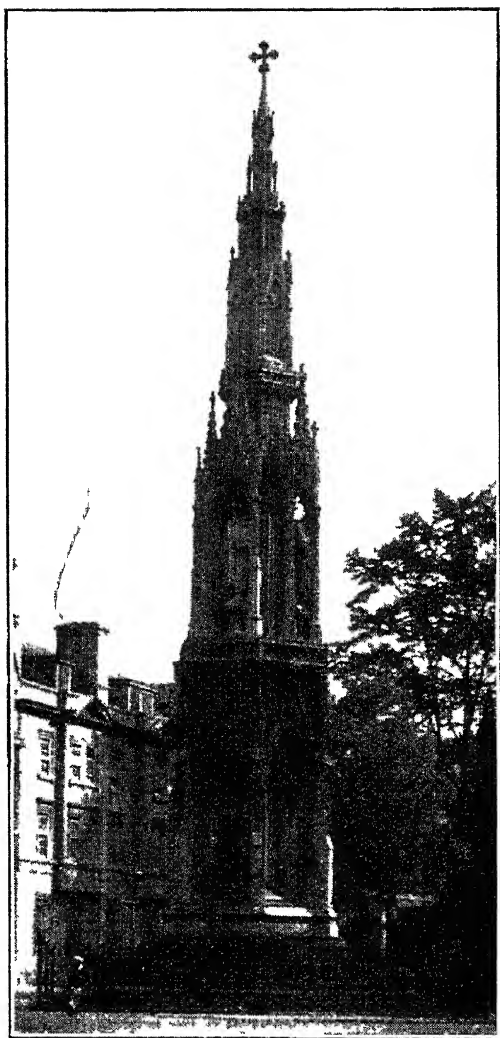
Henry VIII had obtained his divorce because he doubted whether England could be ruled by a woman. Most people, sharing this attitude, expected the Queen to marry, so that her husband could help her to govern. The English hoped that she would marry Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, a descendant of Edward IV. But Mary, in all the troubles of her career, had learnt to turn for advice to her cousin, the Catholic Emperor, Charles V. When he now suggested that she should marry his son, Philip II of Spain, she determined to do so, in spite of English opposition. The English had good reason for disliking this marriage. Though Spain was the traditional and popular ally of England, it was greatly feared that the marriage might, in the end, bring England under Spanish rule. This was not at all unlikely at a time when marriages frequently led to union between provinces and kingdoms.

Mary felt that marriage with a Catholic ruler would help her to carry out her religious policy. A Spanish alliance, also, was a protection against the danger arising from the French control of Scotland. She had a strong personal affection for Philip, and even a rebellion of the men of Kent, led by Sir Thomas Wyatt (1554) did not make her give way. Wyatt occupied the London suburbs, and only Mary's own courage and decision secured the defeat of the rebels and saved her throne. Wyatt was executed as a traitor, and the marriage with Philip took place.

The results of the marriage were altogether unfortunate. Philip and his Spaniards were disliked in England and, quite unjustly, he was blamed for the religious persecution carried out by Mary. Thus the foundation of English Protestant hatred of Spain was laid. The quarrel between France and Spain over their claims in Italy had broken out again, and England was dragged into a war with France, in which she lost Calais, the last of her French possessions.

PERSECUTION OF PROTESTANTS

Mary's chief interest was in the restoration of Catholicism. Cardinal Pole, an Englishman who had already played a distinguished part in the Catholic revival in Europe, came to England as the Pope's representative, and received the country back into the Roman Church. To this there was no opposition.



Will Taylor

THE MARTYRS' MEMORIAL, OXFORD

Parliament proved perfectly willing to abolish the royal supremacy over the English Church, and to restore that of the Pope. But it was less willing to restore the payments (annates) made by the Church to the Papacy. To obtain the restoration of the land taken from the monasteries proved impossible. The nation was not particularly interested in the religious changes made by the government, but the new land-owning families had no intention of giving up the property taken from the Church, and Mary was wise enough not to attempt to coerce them.

She would have been wise to show equal moderation in matters of doctrine, for Protestantism was not yet strong in England. But, like most religious enthusiasts of the period, she believed that people should be forced to accept what she considered to be the truth, and that destruction of the body might be a necessary means to the saving of the soul. The heresy laws were enforced, and, in 1555 the Protestant bishops, Hooper, Latimer, and Ridley were burnt. Later, Archbishop Cranmer, the author of the new Prayer Book, shared their fate. About three hundred heretics of less importance were burnt also. Far from suppressing Protestantism in England, their death lent dignity to a cause which many people had regarded before as little more than an excuse for plundering the Church. The persecution lasted till Mary's death, though the Queen must have known that she had failed to secure a permanent restoration of Catholicism in England. She knew that national religion was still a matter that could be decided by the sovereign, and that the next heir to the throne, her sister, Elizabeth, was believed to sympathise with the Reformers.

THE ELIZABETHAN SETTLEMENT

Elizabeth, like Edward VI, had been educated by Reformers, but she was no religious enthusiast. The policy she adopted was designed to please as many people as possible. Most Englishmen had shown themselves indifferent to the recent religious changes, but Protestantism had been gaining ground. It was a new and vigorous faith, and, if Mary's purely Catholic policy were to be continued, Protestants would have to be repressed. Elizabeth wanted no religious quarrels, such as had occurred in Europe, so she tried to arrange a religious settlement acceptable to both parties.

The Elizabethan Church-settlement, which, unlike the previous religious changes, proved lasting, was embodied in two Acts of Parliament the Second Statute of Supremacy (1559), and the Third Act of Uniformity (1559). The Statute of Supremacy revived the laws passed by Henry VIII to free the English Church from Papal authority. Though the national Church was again put under royal control, Elizabeth did not take the title of "Supreme Head," but that of "Supreme Governor of the Realm in all things ecclesiastical as well as civil." This meant pretty much the same, but was a less open challenge to the Pope's position. The avoidance of phrases to which Catholics might object led to certain alterations in the English Prayer Book, the use of which was prescribed by the Act of Uniformity.

In the same spirit, although people were fined for non-attendance at Church, the fine was light. Only clergymen and holders of offices in the State were required to swear that they accepted the royal supremacy. This made it easy for extreme Catholics to retain their own religion in private, provided that they made no open resistance to the new religious settlement. The Forty-two Articles of Edward VI's reign were reduced to Thirty-nine. Their language was purposely vague, so that different parties could interpret them in accordance with different religious opinions.

Elizabeth's religious settlement established the Church of England in very much the position it holds to-day. She made it a national Protestant Church, whose services and beliefs can be accepted by people of many different shades of opinion. The greater part of the nation submitted to it without much interest, as they had submitted to other religious changes. As people became accustomed to the new services, the number of extreme Catholics who clung to the old religion became smaller. As it was not difficult for them to stay away from Church, they were not forced into open resistance.

But in Europe a revival of Catholicism was taking place. By the movement within the Church sometimes known as the "Counter-Reformation," the Catholic Church was removing abuses that had led to the Reformation, and was experiencing a great revival of religious zeal. Catholicism, no longer content to remain on the defensive, was beginning, in its turn, to attack Protestantism. Foreign influences interfered continually with

the quiet absorption of Catholics into the new, national Church of England

THE CATHOLIC RECUSANTS

The English were not a strong nation, and it was obvious that, if the Pope could combine the great Catholic powers of France and Spain against them, they would be forced to submit. Especially as the heir to the throne, Mary, Queen of Scots, was a Catholic, the position of the English Protestant Church seemed precarious. Fortunately for Elizabeth, France and Spain were too jealous of each other's power to combine against England. When, in 1570, Pope Pius V issued a Bull, or Papal Letter, which excommunicated Elizabeth and ordered her deposition, neither France nor Spain made any attempt to carry out his sentence.

Yet, at the time, no one could predict exactly how the Catholic powers would act, or could fail to see that England was in a position of grave danger. So the Pope's action put those English Catholics, known as "Recusants," who would not conform to the Protestant English Church, into a terrible position. It was natural that they should wish for the restoration of their own religion, and the fact that foreign powers had been invited to restore that religion by force made the government and most of the nation regard a Recusant as a possible traitor to his country and ally of her foreign enemies.

Some Recusants proved ready to engage in foreign plots, but most of them seem to have remained loyal. The government would probably have been wise to continue its mild policy towards them. But, in 1580, the Society of Jesus (Jesuits), a new religious Order founded to revive and spread Catholicism, sent missionaries into England. After this, fear of Catholic plots at home drove the government, harassed by foreign dangers, to harsh measures. It attempted, by means of Penal Laws, to suppress the Recusants by force. The fines for non-attendance at Church became tremendously heavy. A rich man might pay £20 a month, while others escaped with a payment of two-thirds of their income. Catholic priests who celebrated Mass, or performed other religious duties in England, were punished by the death of traitors.

These savage acts were interpreted very differently in different parts of the country. The levying of fines depended on the attitude of local magistrates to their Catholic neighbours. In

some places disguised priests were in little danger of betrayal. Though it agreed very well with the religious intolerance of the day, this persecution of Catholics was bad policy, for it put them into the position of an oppressed minority. They were regarded with suspicion by the rest of the nation, who associated them with secrecy, priest's hiding-places, and plots. And, like the Protestant martyrs of Mary's reign, such men as the Jesuit, Campion, by their endurance of torture and death, increased the enthusiasm felt for their religion.

THE PURITANS

While Catholic Recusants stood outside the Elizabethan Church of England, many of the more extreme Protestants also were dissatisfied with its teaching, services, and government. The influence of the Continental Protestants was increasing in England. Many Englishmen had fled abroad during Mary's reign, and had brought back, on their return, new ideas about services and church government. These extreme Protestants felt that the English Church was still too Catholic, and they wanted greater simplicity in doctrine and ritual. Because they wished to "purify" the Church, they were nicknamed "Puritans."

Elizabeth did not favour the Puritans. Their ideal of a Church governed by representatives chosen by its ministers, or congregations, seemed to her dangerous to royal authority. Moreover, she had no sympathy with demands for further alteration of the Prayer Book, or with the struggles of the Puritan clergy with Archbishop Parker concerning such questions as the wearing of surplices, and the use of the cross in baptism, or of the ring in marriage. Parker treated the Puritans tenderly, but Whitgift, his successor as Archbishop of Canterbury, adopted a stern policy towards those who would not obey the rules laid down by the Anglican Church.

The Puritans were weakened by their own divisions. The term "Puritan" included all Protestants dissatisfied with the Elizabethan Church, not only one religious sect. Some Puritans wanted only minor changes to be made, but the Presbyterians, led by Cartwright, wanted to abolish the bishops, and to replace them by "presbyters," or elders, elected by the Church. Puritans of these two classes did not want toleration, the Church

was to be altered, but the nation was still to be compelled to conform.

Such Puritans disapproved as much as did Catholics, or Anglicans, of the third division of Puritans, who believed in religious freedom. This last class, which was the first to separate itself from the Church of England, included many varieties of opinion, and many sects, but the most important of these were the followers of Browne, known as "Brownists," "Congregationalists," or "Independents," who held that each congregation should rule itself. Thus by the end of the Tudor period other Protestant communities were already beginning to break away from the established English Church.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE EUROPEAN WARS OF RELIGION AND ENGLISH FOREIGN POLICY

RELIGION IN FRANCE AND SCOTLAND

When Elizabeth came to the throne the religious problem was not her only difficulty. England was weak, and was still engaged with the French war that resulted from the alliance with Spain. Also, Mary's failures had strengthened the prejudice against women as rulers. But the new Queen, though still in her twenties, had already had a good deal of political experience. Philip II, Mary's husband, who did not want to lose England, hoped that Elizabeth would marry him. This gave her an opportunity to keep Spain friendly, and, when Philip made peace with France in the Treaty of Cateau-Cambr cis (1559), he took care that England should be included in it.

For some years after this, France was Elizabeth's chief enemy. The hereditary claimant to the English throne was Mary, Queen of Scots, the descendant of Henry VII's daughter, Margaret Tudor. Mary had married the Dauphin, who became king of France as Francis II, and the French government, which was controlled by Mary's relations, the Guises, hoped that France, England, and Scotland might finally be united under French rule.

Scotland was already garrisoned by French troops, sent there to support the authority of the Regent, the Queen's mother, Mary of Guise. The Scots resented this attempt of France to control their country, just as they had resented that of Henry VIII. Protestantism had already gained many converts in Scotland. Under the influence of John Knox and other preachers, the struggle against the French became also a struggle to drive Catholicism out of the Scottish Church. The Protestant nobles and preachers who called themselves the "Congregation," appealed to Elizabeth for help. Though she was always reluctant to support rebels, she could not neglect such an opportunity. The English fleet cut off French supplies, an English army invaded Scotland and by the Treaty of Edinburgh

(1560), the French were forced to promise to withdraw their troops. The Scottish government now fell under the control of the Lords of the Congregation, and the Scottish Church became Protestant.

In the same year, Mary's husband, Francis II of France, died, and was succeeded by his brother, Charles IX, whose mother, Catharine de' Medici, ruled the country as regent. France, like the other countries of Europe, was torn by struggles between Catholic and Protestant. The Catholic party was led by the Guise family. The Protestants, known as "Huguenots," were led by the Bourbons, who were, after the reigning family, the heirs to the French throne. The quarrels of Catholic and Huguenot were frequent and bitter, being characterised by terrible cruelty. Though Catharine de' Medici was a Catholic, she cared chiefly for her own authority. On the death of Francis II, she drove the Catholic Guises from power and sent their relation, Mary, Queen of Scots, back to Scotland (1561).

War soon broke out between Catholic and Huguenot. When the Huguenot leader, Conde, appealed to Elizabeth for help, she saw another opportunity of weakening her enemy, France, and sent troops in return for the cession of Havre to England (1562). Catharine did not want a religious war, and managed to patch up a peace, by which the Huguenots obtained a certain amount of religious freedom. The result of this was that both parties united, took Havre, and drove the English out of the country.

ELIZABETH AND MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS

Now that the French and Scottish crowns were no longer likely to be united, France was less dangerous to England. Mary, Queen of Scots, had many difficulties to occupy her in her own country. She was only nineteen when she returned to Scotland, and, as a Catholic, was regarded with suspicion by her Protestant subjects. For some time she avoided trouble by leaving the government in the hands of her half-brother, the Earl of Murray, and the Lords of the Congregation.

But, like Queen Mary of England, she made an unwise marriage. After considering other alliances, she finally (1565) married her cousin, Henry, Lord Darnley, a youth three years younger than herself. Relations with England had always been difficult, because of Elizabeth's refusal to acknowledge Mary as



MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS, AND DARNLEY

heir to her throne Mary's marriage seemed designed to irritate the English Queen, for Darnley, a descendant of Margaret Tudor's second marriage, was also in the line of the English succession. Moreover, he proved to be weak, arrogant, and vicious, and the Queen, tiring of him, spent her time in the company of David Rizzio, an Italian musician attached to her court.

When Darnley and some Scottish lords murdered Rizzio, Mary acted with the vigour and courage she always displayed in

times of crisis. She detached her husband from his supporters by a show of friendship, and recalled her half-brother, Murray, who had left Scotland as a result of his opposition to her marriage. In this way she gained control of the country, and after the birth of her son, James VI (1566), might have retained Scottish loyalty, if she had not plunged into a love affair with a worthless, though fascinating Scottish noble, the Earl of Bothwell.

Bothwell, probably with the help of the Queen, arranged for the murder of Darnley, and then carried off Mary and married her with a show of force. When they were attacked by the indignant nobles, he fled and left the country. Mary was imprisoned at Lochleven, and forced to promise to abdicate in her son's favour. But, in 1568, she escaped, fled to England, and threw herself upon Elizabeth's mercy.

The question of how to receive her was a puzzling one for the English Queen. It was obvious that if she were a free guest in England, she would become a focus for the devotion of discontented Catholics, and Elizabeth had no reason to believe that she was a person to be trusted. To restore her by force was unthinkable, because the Scottish Protestant lords, who had driven her out of Scotland, were the allies of England. To let her seek help in France or Spain was to risk the establishment of foreign influence on the English border. Elizabeth might have handed Mary over to her subjects, but she did not wish to adopt a policy which would end in the death of the Scottish Queen, nor did it agree with her idea of the sanctity of kingship that a sovereign should be punished by subjects. So the only course was to keep Mary in honourable confinement in England, and risk the danger from plots made in her favour.

SPAIN AND THE REVOLT IN THE NETHERLANDS

During the first years of her reign, when England was threatened by the danger of French control of Scotland, Elizabeth had been careful not to lose the friendship of Spain. Philip II of Spain was the son of the Emperor Charles V. Though the Empire and the family possessions in central Europe had gone to the younger branch of the Hapsburgs, Philip II had inherited not only Spain, but the Netherlands and the Spanish conquests in America. In the New World the raids of English seamen

caused trouble between England and Spain. The establishment of Spanish power in the Netherlands, opposite the English coast, was a danger to England. The Netherlands had already been very independent in spirit and in institutions. This did not suit Philip, who put the country completely under the authority of his own representatives. He began a vigorous persecution of Protestants, and, when his measures were resisted, sent the Duke of Alva with a Spanish army to rule the provinces by force.

Elizabeth did not intend to let Alva reduce the Netherlands to submission, if she could prevent it without open war. Since France was now controlled by Catharine de' Medici and the moderates, who wanted friendly relations with England, and since Scotland was in the hands of Murray and the Protestant lords, the English Queen could afford to risk something. As well as sending secret help to the rebels, she seized the Spanish treasure ships, taking money to Alva, which had been driven into English ports by stormy weather (1568). Alva retaliated by stopping trade between England and the Netherlands, but so many Spanish and Flemish merchants were ruined that this policy had to be abandoned. As Philip II feared that England might make an alliance with France, he dared not attack Elizabeth openly. But the incident showed that Spain, instead of France, was now coming to be regarded as England's principal enemy.

PLOTS AGAINST ELIZABETH

The seizure of Spanish treasure in time of peace may seem unjustifiable, but Spain was giving plenty of provocation by supporting Catholic plots in England. The presence of Mary, Queen of Scots, as a prisoner was a constant danger to Elizabeth. Many English Catholics, who would not have supported a foreigner, were ready to uphold the cause of one whom they could regard as rightful heir to the English throne. Philip of Spain, though he did not want to risk an open quarrel with Elizabeth, saw advantages to be gained by making Mary Queen of England.

The north of England was still principally Catholic, and the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland were persuaded to rebel with the objects of restoring Catholicism and marrying Mary to the Duke of Norfolk. If the rebels had succeeded, Elizabeth would certainly have lost her throne. But it is

unlikely that Norfolk intended to do more than get rid of Elizabeth's Protestant advisers, and, when the Rising of the Northern Earls (1569) had been suppressed, he escaped execution. The earls fled to Scotland. The north was sternly punished, but this did not prevent further plotting.

In the next year (1570) the Pope declared Elizabeth deposed and excommunicated. Although neither France nor Spain attempted to carry out the sentence, Spain was still ready to



WILLIAM CECIL, LORD BURGHEY, 1520-1598

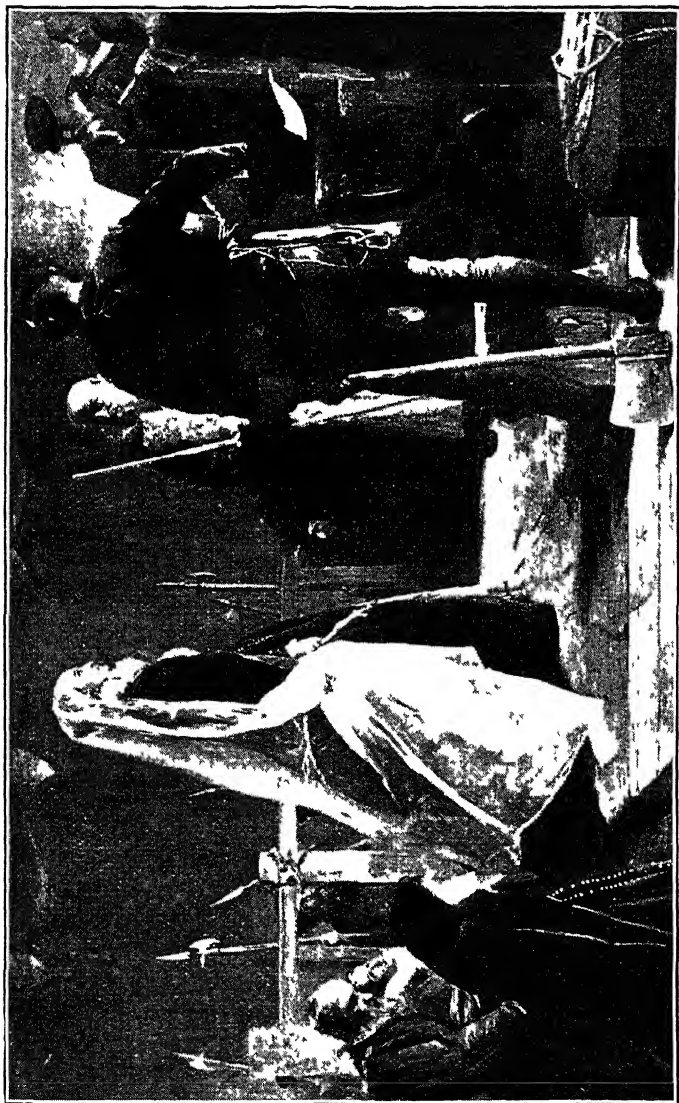
support English plotters. In 1571 Elizabeth's principal adviser, William Cecil, Lord Burghley, and his agents discovered the Ridolfi Plot, in which Ridolfi, a Florentine banker, was the leading spirit. Once more it was intended to marry Mary to the Catholic Duke of Norfolk, and to restore Catholicism. Alva was to bring a Spanish army to England to support the scheme. Discovery of the plot led to Norfolk's execution, while Parliament and Elizabeth's ministers began to demand the execution of Mary, to which the Queen would not consent.

Elizabeth relied greatly on the advice of Burghley, her most trusted counsellor. Burghley, though Protestant, was moderate and cautious in his policy. But a Protestant party, very hostile to Spain, was developing on the Council under the leadership of Leicester and Walsingham. This party wanted the Queen to give open support to the rebels in the Netherlands. Elizabeth would not consent, though she sent secret help to keep the rebellion alive, and encouraged her subjects to attack Spain both in the Netherlands and in America. In spite of Philip's support of plots against her, she did not feel that her country was strong or rich enough for war. Moreover, she was clever at gaining her objects by less expensive methods.

Elizabeth's policy was to steer an opportunist course between France and Spain. She took advantage of the rivalry of the two powers and the fact that neither wished to drive England into alliance with the other. As relations with Spain grew more difficult, she adopted a fairly steady policy of friendship with France. This remained unaltered even when Catharine de' Medici and the Guises, fearing the influence of the Huguenot nobles over the young Charles IX, united to bring about the Massacre of St Bartholomew (1572). This was a massacre of Huguenots, who were collected in Paris for the marriage of their young leader, Henry of Bourbon, King of Navarre.

The French alliance was kept alive by a long series of negotiations for Elizabeth's marriage with a French prince. The first suitor was Charles IX, then his brother, Anjou, who became king of France as Henry III, and then Anjou's brother, Alençon. These marriage negotiations lasted for years, but came to nothing in the end, partly because Parliament and the nation strongly opposed a French marriage for their Queen. But, except for a period when Henry III of France was under the influence of the Catholic Guises, who were friendly to Spain, France remained for many years on good terms with England, and Spain gradually took her place as the national enemy.

Meanwhile, the Catholics abroad continued to encourage English plots. The principal results of their efforts were the persecution of Recusants by the English government, and, finally, the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots, after twenty years' imprisonment. In 1584 came Throckmorton's Plot. Spanish troops were to invade England, where the Catholics were expected to rise and help to dethrone Elizabeth.



MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS THE END—FOTHERINGAY Painting by Robert Herdman, R S A

A more dangerous possibility was the chance that the Queen might be assassinated. In 1585 this fate overtook William of Orange, the leader of the revolt in the Netherlands. In 1586 Babington's Plot to murder Elizabeth was discovered, with evidence that Mary, Queen of Scots, had consented to it. The result was the trial and execution of Mary (1587), to which Elizabeth consented with great reluctance. The news of Mary's execution was received with horror in Scotland, France, and Spain, for it was regarded as a violation of the sanctity of Kingship. But the death of Mary, was an effective check to Catholic plotting in England. Many who would have supported an attempt to place her on the throne, would give no help to a purely foreign attack on their own country. England was, therefore, safer and more united at home when she had to face an open struggle with Spain, now impending.

ENGLISH SEAMEN AND THE SPANISH COLONIES

When William of Orange, the leader of the revolt in the Netherlands, was assassinated in 1585 Elizabeth feared that the rebellion might be crushed by Spain. She therefore at last gave open support to the rebels, sending an army, under the command of the Earl of Leicester, to the Netherlands. Leicester was a courtier rather than a general or a statesman. He owed his importance to Elizabeth's favour rather than to his own ability. The expedition to the Netherlands was therefore a failure. But it helped to provoke Philip of Spain to make war on Elizabeth, and he began to prepare a fleet for this purpose. His determination was strengthened by the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots.

For a long time England and Spain had been growing more and more unfriendly. This was partly due to the attacks of English seamen upon the Spanish colonies. In early Tudor times when Spain was engaged in the conquest of the West Indies, Mexico, and Peru, England had been too weak and too much occupied with her own affairs to trouble much about the New World. But Henry VIII paved the way for future adventures at sea by building royal ships of an improved pattern, and by encouraging shipping and the fisheries.

When, in the middle of the sixteenth century, English seamen sought new ways of expanding their trade, they at first respected the Portuguese monopoly in Africa and the Indian Ocean, and

the Spanish monopoly in America. Accordingly they tried to find a way to India and China round the north of Europe. This attempt failed, but led to the discovery of the White Sea by Chancellor, and the establishment of trade with Russia. This trade was carried on by the Muscovy Company, which was founded in 1554.

About the same time, the Protestant seamen of Bristol and the west of England saw an opportunity of combining religious zeal and profit by attacking Spanish and Flemish ships bound for Antwerp. This Channel piracy, for piracy it was, gave English adventurers an excellent training in sea warfare. When the revolt of the Netherlands began, the Channel rovers kept closely in touch with the Protestants there. Elizabeth found them useful, and made no attempt to check their attacks on Spain, though she did not give them any open sign of approval. Meanwhile, the English merchants were becoming eager for a share of the wealth of America. In 1562 John Hawkins, a Plymouth trader, hearing that there was a demand for slaves in the West Indies, sailed there with a cargo of negroes from Africa. He hoped to be permitted to trade peacefully, but, in this, and in two subsequent voyages, he had trouble with the Spanish authorities, who had no intention of permitting other nations to trade with their colonies. As a result, while Spain and England were at peace, English seamen were constantly at war with the Spaniards in America. They traded with colonists in spite of Spanish opposition, plundered Spanish treasure ships, and attacked Spanish towns.

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE AND THE SPANISH ARMADA

The most brilliant of the captains who went on these privateering expeditions was Sir Francis Drake, a Devonshire man. After a youth spent with the Channel rovers, he sailed with Hawkins to the West Indies, and then began to lead his own enterprises. Drake was the first Englishman to cross the Isthmus of Panama and see the Pacific (1572), which he did on an expedition to seize the convoy that carried treasure from Peru to the Atlantic ports of Spanish America. In 1577 he set out on a voyage round the world, and the appearance of his ships on the Pacific Ocean showed the Spaniards that their monopoly of its waters was at an end.



SIR FRANCIS DRAKE, 1540 (?)–1596
Admiral and Explorer

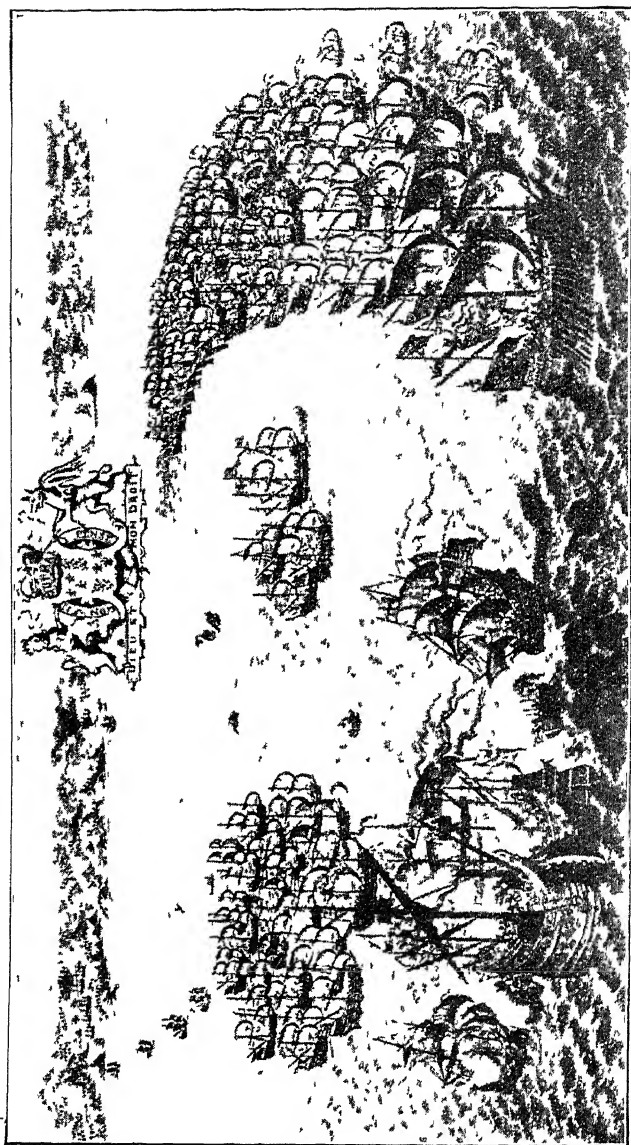
The Spaniards complained frequently of the attacks of the English sea-rovers, but they could get no satisfaction from the English government. Elizabeth was quite willing that her subjects should harass Spain so long as open war could be avoided. Drake, in particular, worked with the Queen's approval, though it was understood that she was free to deny all knowledge of his deeds. She took her share of Spanish plunder, and this helped out her revenue, which was scarcely

equal to the expenses of the reign. It is, therefore, easy to understand that, by the time of Mary's execution, Philip was determined to crush English sea-power.

For this purpose he assembled a great fleet, the Armada. Its sailing was delayed for a year by Drake, who made a daring and successful attack on the Spanish ships as they lay in harbour at Cadiz (1587). This exploit he described as "singeing the King of Spain's beard." Philip had no doubt of his ultimate victory, for Spain was a much more powerful country than England. But England was a more efficient naval power than Spain. Spanish ships were old-fashioned, and her method of fighting at sea was the old one of grappling and boarding the enemy. The English had the newest types of ship which were more easily handled than the Spanish ones. English seamen were expert in the new methods of fighting at a distance by gunfire, and their guns had a longer range.

When the Armada appeared off the Lizard (1588), the English were prepared. A running fight occurred up the Channel, till the Spaniards anchored off Calais. The Spaniards wanted to reach the Netherlands, where a Spanish army under the Duke of Parma, the most brilliant general of the day, was waiting to be transported to England. They were dislodged from their anchorage by fireships, driven out of the Channel, and cut off from Parma. Completely defeated, they attempted to return to Spain round the north of Scotland, but many ships were wrecked on the Scottish and western Irish coasts.

The defeat of Spain crowned the success with which Elizabeth, helped by brilliant seamen and ministers, had made her comparatively weak country play a great part in Europe. The friendship of France was secure, for, in 1593, the Huguenot leader, Henry of Bourbon, King of Navarre, defeated his Catholic opponents with English help, and became King of France as Henry IV, though he had to become a Catholic to please his subjects. Danger from Spain was at an end, though the most brilliant days of the English sea-rovers were ended too. Spain was defending her colonies more carefully. An expedition of Drake and Hawkins to the West Indies (1595) ended in failure, and in the death of both leaders. The only notable English success was an attack on Cadiz (1596) by a young and brilliant nobleman Essex who rose to favour in the last years of the reign.



THE SPANISH ARMADA

IRELAND UNDER THE TUDORS

Elizabeth's last years were troubled by rebellion in Ireland and by the plots of her favourite, Essex. None of the Tudors was successful in dealing with Ireland, perhaps because their statesmanship and their resources were already strained to the uttermost elsewhere. Henry VII put the Parliament at Dublin under the control of the English Council by Poyning's Laws (1494). He then left Ireland to be ruled by the Fitzgeralds of Kildare, the most important of the Anglo-Irish nobility. But the Fitzgeralds themselves were unruly. English authority did not extend beyond the area round Dublin, known as the "Pale," and the Irish chiefs and Anglo-Irish barons were almost independent in their own districts.

After some trouble with the Earl of Kildare, Henry VIII determined to make his power felt. He executed six of the Fitzgerald family, Kildare's relations. In Ireland he carried out the same changes in the Church as he had made in England, repudiating Papal authority and dissolving the monasteries. There was no resistance, but his policy of force had little effect. English and Irish remained hostile to each other. The English government persisted in regarding the native Irish as savages. In Mary's reign began a policy widely used later in Ireland—that of clearing districts of their native inhabitants and then "planting" them with loyal Irish and with English settlers. This system of "plantation" outraged the Irish, and led to constant fighting between the natives and the new settlers.

When Elizabeth came to the throne the English government had little authority over Ireland, and the Irish were thoroughly hostile. Ireland, therefore, became an excellent centre for the intrigues of the Queen's foreign enemies. Catholic missionaries inspired the Irish people, especially in the south, with hatred of the Protestant Church imposed upon them by England. Intrigue and rebellion were almost continual.

At the beginning of the reign there was a dispute about the succession to the earldom of Tyrone, which was claimed by Shane O'Neill. Elizabeth recognised Shane's claim, but he was extremely ambitious, and, especially in Ulster, he had great influence, which he used to keep the country in a state of unrest. He intrigued with Spain, invaded the English Pale, and stirred

up disorder till he was assassinated in 1567 By that time England had completely lost control of Ulster

Revolt next broke out in Munster (1569), among that branch of the Fitzgeralds who were Earls of Desmond They were indignant because England had supported their traditional enemies, the Butlers, against them Their first revolt was put down without much trouble, but the decision of the government to plant Munster led to another rebellion ten years later This revolt, which had the support of Italian and Spanish troops sent by the Pope, lasted for four years The fighting was marked by terrible cruelty on both sides In the end, Munster was planted, but thousands of Irish had been starved by the laying waste of the country, and hostility between English and Irish had grown more bitter than ever

At the end of Elizabeth's reign occurred the most serious of the Irish rebellions, that of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone Fearing a plantation of Ulster, O'Neill allied himself with the O'Donnells and defeated the English in the Battle of the Yellow Ford (1598) His success led to another rising in Munster, and it seemed as if all Ireland might unite in revolt Elizabeth's favourite, the Earl of Essex, was sent to suppress the rebellion, but he aroused the Queen's anger by making a truce with Tyrone, and was replaced by Lord Mountjoy Mountjoy set himself to conquer Ireland by stages, building forts and reducing one district after another by wasting the country and starving the inhabitants The process lasted for three years, and in 1603, the year of Elizabeth's death, Ireland was peaceful at last But peace had been imposed by force, not by statesmanship The Irish were still hostile, and, when the country had had time to recover, all the old disorders were to break out again

THE LAST YEARS OF ELIZABETH'S REIGN

Meanwhile, there had been trouble in England During the last years of Elizabeth's reign her old counsellors—Leicester, Walsingham, Burghley—had died, and been replaced by younger men—Burghley's son, Robert Cecil, Sir Walter Raleigh, and the Earl of Essex Essex, who had risen by the Queen's favour, was extremely ambitious and very jealous of Cecil and Raleigh He was brilliant and popular but his aims were selfish His successful attack on Cadiz made him famous, but, after his failure in Ireland he was discontented, and intrigued with Scotland and

Spain Having lost the Queen's favour, he attempted to raise a rebellion in London, where he was popular The attempt failed, and he was executed (1601) His intrigues made Elizabeth's last years unquiet, but she lived to see the country once more peaceful,

*Mondial*

BUILDING "THE ARK ROYAL"

and Ireland subdued She had freed England from foreign dangers, had established the national church, and had put down intrigues and made the kingdom fairly united Her statesmanship was respected by all Europe, and its brilliance was made more apparent by the failures and difficulties of her successors

CHAPTER XXIV

TUDOR ENGLAND

CHANGES IN LAND OWNERSHIP

In Tudor times, as in the Middle Ages, most people lived in the country, and many of them never travelled further than the nearest market town. Village life still centred round the church and the manor-house. The gentry were important people. As landowners they had a good deal of influence over the life and welfare of their tenants. Also the Tudor sovereigns relied upon such of them as had been appointed justices of the peace to carry on the work of local government.

Both nobility and gentry were changing. In some parts of the country, especially in the north, feudalism was far from dead.



British Museum

HAY HARVEST IN THE MIDDLE AGES

Families, such as the Percies of Northumberland, could depend upon the loyalty of their tenants, even when they rebelled, as was shown in the Rising of the Northern Earls (1569). But the Tudors put down feudal independence with a strong hand. The keeping of retainers was forbidden, and the nobility were learning to leave their estates and to become courtiers. At the same time new noble families, enriched by grants of land taken from the monasteries, were arising.

All over the country, as a result of the dissolution of the monasteries, land had changed hands, and this could not but affect the lives of the people who worked on it. The tenant-farmers and labourers, who were descendants of the villeins of the Middle Ages, were not accustomed to violent changes. The rent paid for land, and the methods by which it was farmed, were decided by custom. People were generally content if their land provided them with a living, or with the income to which they were accustomed. But Henry VIII's confiscation of the property of the monasteries offered a great opportunity to people to make fortunes by buying monastic land from the government with the intention of selling it again at a profit. The final owners of the estates had often paid a good price for them, and wanted a sufficient return for their capital. Therefore they either raised rents, or evicted many of their tenants, and took to new methods of farming. In either case, the tenant suffered. During this period, the gentry grew richer and more prosperous, but the position of labourers and small farmers became worse, and the distance between poor and rich was increased.

ENCLOSURES

Over the greater part of England farming was still carried on in "open fields," as in the Middle Ages. That is, the ploughed land round a village was arranged, not in small fields, but in three large ones, which were divided into strips. Most people's land, instead of being gathered together in a single compact farm, consisted of a number of scattered strips in the open fields. This system had many disadvantages, for when land of good and bad farmers was mixed together, little progress could be made. Already a change was beginning. In many places farmers arranged to have all their land in one place, so that they could cut it off from other people's land by hedges, making it into enclosed fields. This enclosure of land made improved methods of farming possible. It led to a definite advance in agriculture, though much land remained in "open fields" until the nineteenth century.

At the same time other "enclosures" were being made, and caused a great deal of discontent. England was a great wool producing country, and the growth of the cloth manufacture had made sheep-farming profitable. The enclosure of land for

pasturing sheep had begun in the fourteenth century, when the Black Death (1348) made labour scarce and expensive. It now continued on a large scale, and since sheep-farming did not require many labourers, unemployment resulted. Many landlords, too, enclosed not only their own farms, but part of the village pasture and waste. Thus the villagers suffered through losing pasturage for their animals.

The new landlords, who were anxious to make money, were great offenders in this respect. The government tried to check the process of enclosing land, because it led to unemployment and depopulation, but the Acts against it were not obeyed. The local gentry, who should have enforced them, were often engaged in enclosing their own land, while the new nobility, who were well represented in the King's Council, were among the principal offenders.

Nevertheless, there was constant agitation against enclosures. Those who denounced them were known as "Commonwealth men," because they argued that the welfare of the nation was more important than the private profit of the landlords. Prominent among those who held this opinion was Protector Somerset. His views lost him the support of the nobility, and it was his failure to deal sternly with Ket's rebellion (1549) in Norfolk against enclosures that led to his fall from power.

UNEMPLOYMENT AND THE POOR LAW

Unemployment was one of the many problems with which Tudor sovereigns had to deal. Both government and people were inclined to blame enclosures for it, but the enclosing of land was only one of its many causes. The suppression of livery and maintenance was gradually breaking up the great households kept by the nobility, and many of their retainers must have found themselves without home or means of living. The dissolution of the monasteries turned large numbers of monks into the world with very little money to support them. Some of the unemployed really tried to find work, others took to a wandering life of begging and robbery. So serious was the danger to the scattered households of the countryside and to travellers on the road that, in 1549, Edward VI's ministers passed a Vagrancy Act to suppress such wanderers by savage punishment. It

ordered beggars to be whipped and branded, and to be kept as slaves, if they were caught more than once

But the problem could not be satisfactorily solved by punishing the vagrants. In 1601, Elizabeth passed the first Poor Law to deal with unemployment and with the relief of the aged and sick. These were now unprovided for, owing to the dissolution of the monasteries, which had given a certain amount of poor relief, though less than in earlier times. By the new Act, each parish was made responsible for its own poor and



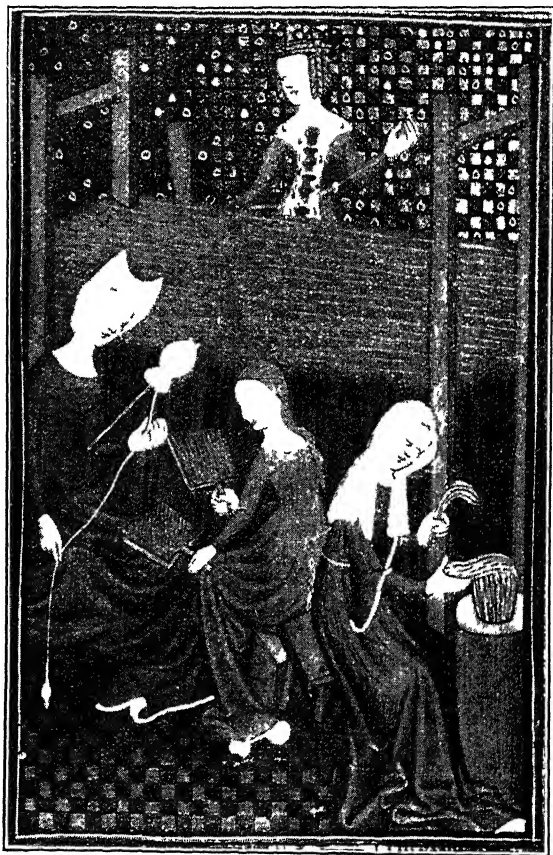
Fox Photos

ELIZABETHAN ALMSHOUSES AT CASTLE RISING, NORFOLK

unemployed. In each parish a workhouse was to be established, in which able-bodied people who could not find work were to be employed. Provision was also made for the sick and for people who were too old to work. All this was to be paid for by a local rate, levied on each household. The people of the parish were to meet in the vestry, and appoint two Overseers to collect the rate and to supervise the working of the Act. Like the justices of the peace, these officers were to be unpaid. This Act was so successful that it remained in force until the nineteenth century.

DECLINE OF THE GILDS STATUTE OF ARTIFICERS

For townsmen, as well as for country people, the Tudor period was a time of many difficulties. The industrial system of the Middle Ages was breaking down, and it was only slowly that a new system was being created to take its place. In the Middle Ages it had been usual for all those in a town who worked at the same trade, or craft, to belong to a craft gild. This gild looked after their welfare, inspected the quality of their

*British Museum*

WEAVING, SPINNING AND CARDING, IN THE MIDDLE AGES

work, and fixed the prices to be charged. Masters, workmen, and apprentices belonged to the gild, and no one outside it could practice their trade in the town to which they belonged.

But in the later Middle Ages this system worked less smoothly. The richer gildsmen became eager to make fortunes for themselves and to keep other people from sharing their privileges. They limited the membership of the gilds, and invented various rules that made it difficult for workmen in a gild to become masters. The result was that, in the end, the gilds themselves suffered. Workmen were discontented and often left the towns for villages where they could work as they pleased. The cloth-making industry, which developed when the gilds were already beginning to decline, was established in country towns where no gild existed. Employers, who were not craftsmen at all, used their capital to pay other people to do the work of manufacturing cloth, just as in modern industry.

When, in Edward VI's reign, Protector Somerset confiscated such of their endowments as were used for religious purposes, the gilds were already in decay. Industry was therefore disorganised, since the gilds had been responsible for the training of craftsmen and the regulation of trade. There was also a great deal of unemployment. The situation was not dealt with until Elizabeth's reign, when the Government passed the Statute of Artificers (1563), which decreed that those who wished to practise any craft must spend an apprenticeship of seven years learning it. Those who could not secure this training were to do agricultural work, and the wages of workers were to be fixed by the justices of the peace. This last provision tended to keep wages down, for the justices were not likely to decide in favour of high wages for their own labourers. But the Act, by insisting on apprenticeship, checked the decline of craftsmanship, when the restraint of the gilds had been removed.

HIGH PRICES AND THE REVENUE

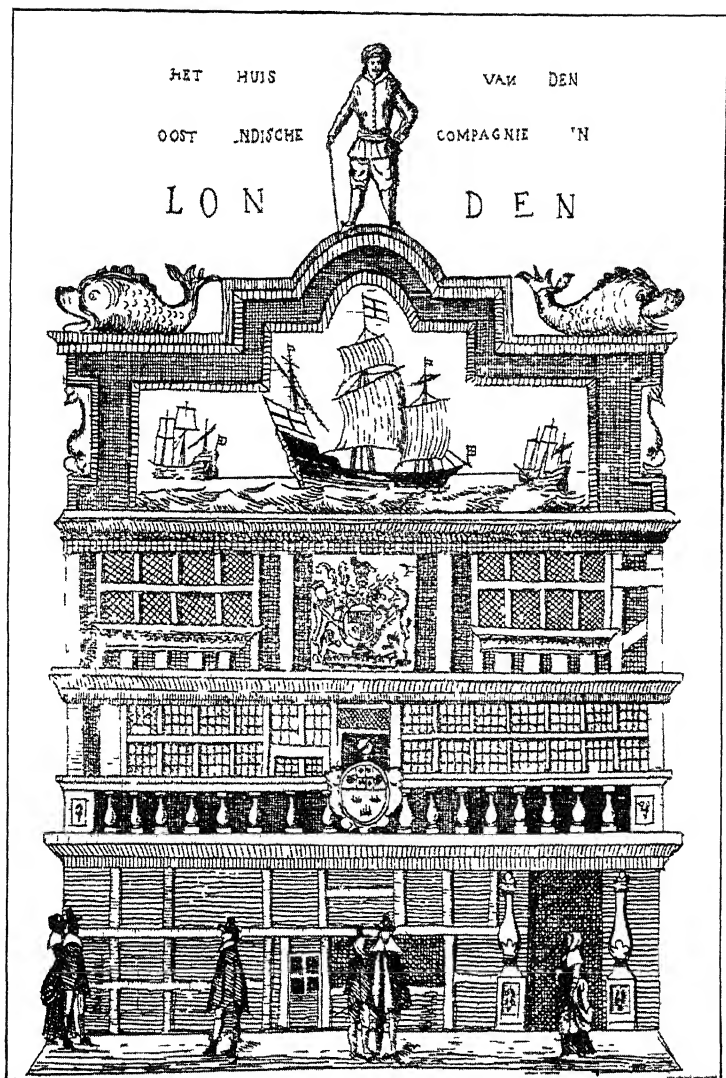
Another difficulty of the period was that, just when poverty and unemployment made it particularly necessary for people to live cheaply, the price of food became very high, nearly double during the second part of Henry VIII's reign. This was because the value of money had decreased. People blamed Henry VIII, who had debased the coinage by putting less silver into his coins,

so that their value was lessened. But when Elizabeth restored the coinage, prices still remained high, for the real trouble was the flood of silver that was being poured into Europe from the Spanish silver mines in Central America. There was more silver, and when the quantity of anything increases its value tends to go down. Silver had therefore declined in value, and money would not buy as much as it had bought before. So high prices continued, and living was made harder for the poor.

Since money had decreased in value the revenue of the country was worth less, and was not enough to pay the expenses of government. Henry VIII had the plunder of the monasteries to help him to pay his way, and Somerset confiscated the endowments of the gilds. But the Tudors could not continue indefinitely to seize the property of their subjects. Elizabeth, though she was very careful in money matters, had difficulty in meeting the cost of her war with Spain. One of her means of raising money was the granting of monopolies in return for a payment. A monopoly was the sole right to sell a particular article, such as soap. Anyone who wished to trade in the article had to pay a fee to the monopolist for permission. Monopolies of the trade in articles of general use were freely granted. This made things dearer than ever, and caused so much discontent that, in the end, the protests of Parliament forced the Queen to withdraw them.

EXPANSION OF MARKETS AND JOINT STOCK COMPANIES

The Tudors tried in many ways to increase the power of their country. They encouraged the carrying of goods in English vessels, so that England might be provided with plenty of armed merchantmen for use in time of war. Attempts at colonisation failed, and the beginning of colonial expansion belongs to the Stuart, not to the Tudor period. But in Tudor times men were already thinking of settlements in the New World, and of the expansion of English trade in Europe and in the East. During the later Middle Ages the Merchant Adventurers had found markets for English cloth in various parts of Europe. Now other trading companies began to be founded, for independent traders had little chance when men still had to be prepared to fight for new markets, and to defend their right to trade in them.



THE FIRST INDIA HOUSE
From an Old Print

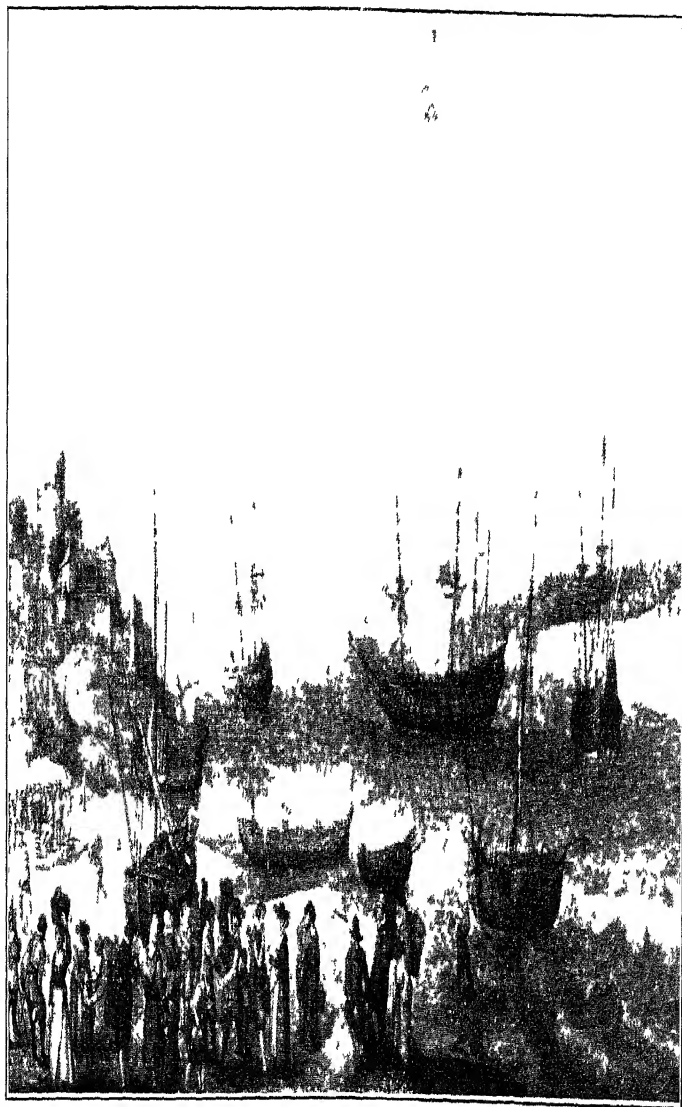
It was this need for defence that made merchants unite in companies for foreign trade. They obtained, by royal charter, the grant of the right to trade in a certain region without competition from other traders of their own nation. Then they united to take measures for their defence. The Merchant Adventurers were an association of independent merchants, each of whom had his own capital, and made his own profits, while obeying certain rules laid down by the Company. But in this period a new type of trading company developed. This was the Joint Stock Company, the capital of which was supplied by many different people, who divided the Company's profits among them. The first of these joint stock companies was the Muscovy Company (1554) founded to trade with the Baltic and with Russia. The most famous was the East India Company (1600), founded at the very end of the Tudor period, and destined to bring India under British control.

THE MONARCHY AND THE NOBILITY

Few English monarchs have possessed more power than Henry VIII or Elizabeth. Parliament and the Council might advise, but the monarch had wide discretionary power. This has led many historians to say that the Tudors were despots, or dictators.

This increase in the royal power had many causes besides the strong will and political ability of the Tudor family. In the Middle Ages the authority of the King had been lessened by the strength of the great nobles. But when the Wars of the Roses and anti-feudal Tudor policy had weakened the barons, the King was left supreme. Also, the need for some strong power to check disorder at home, and to meet foreign dangers, made the nation more ready to submit to his will.

At the same time, respect for Kingship was increasing nearly everywhere. Strong monarchies had developed in France and Spain, as well as in England, and people were growing accustomed to the idea of royal authority. In the struggle with the Church during the Reformation, the earlier reformers were inclined to claim for their King or Prince the same position of representative of God on earth, which the orthodox Catholics claimed for the Pope. Religious, as well as political tendencies, increased the glory of royalty, and the despotic government of



EAST INDIAMAN UNLOADING

National Maritime Museum

the Tudors had the approval and support of the greater part of the nation

The Tudors did not choose their advisers from among the old nobility, which it was their policy to weaken, but from the gentry and middle class. They selected ministers for their ability, and rewarded them with wealth and titles. This new nobility of self-made men, who rose by royal favour, was selfish, grasping and unscrupulous, but usually efficient. It provided such men as Elizabeth's most trusted councillor, William Cecil, Lord Burghley. But it also included men guided entirely by their personal ambition, such as Northumberland in Edward VI's reign.

Since the King ruled through his ministers, the increase in royal power was accompanied by an increase in the authority and work of the King's Council. This period has sometimes been called the age of government by Council, for the Tudors used their Council for every kind of business. Special branches of it were established in districts where law and order were weak, and which needed to be kept closely under government supervision. Such were the Council of the North, established to rule the northern shires after the Pilgrimage of Grace, and the Council of Wales, which kept order in Wales and the Marches. The abuses of livery and maintenance were checked through the judicial power of the Council exercised in the Court of Star Chamber, because the juries of the ordinary courts dared not give a verdict against powerful offenders. The work of the Council was necessary and beneficial, but the authority on which it depended was royal, and in no way under Parliamentary control. The Council might therefore have developed into a means of establishing a real despotism if the power of the Crown had not been limited during the Stuart period.

The Tudor sovereigns, though despotic, were not tyrannical. They kept no standing army, so they could not have crushed conspiracy and rebellion if they had not possessed the support and affection of the greater part of the nation. They were not afraid to entrust authority to their subjects, and left local government in the hands of the gentry, setting the justices of the peace to carry out most of the law. Their more important changes were embodied in Acts of Parliament. Thus, Parliament, far from being crushed or destroyed by the royal power, actually increased in importance and prestige.

PARLIAMENT UNDER THE TUDORS

Parliament had been important in the fourteenth century, but chiefly as the instrument of the great nobles, who had used it in their opposition to the Crown. In the fifteenth century the Yorkist kings and Henry VII summoned it as little as possible. But when Henry VIII began his struggle with the Papacy, he made his religious changes with the help of Parliament. This was to show that his actions had the support of the nation. Though it was he who largely decided what Acts should be passed, he was careful to treat the representatives of his subjects with respect. Elizabeth was often less tactful in dealing with the Commons than her father had been. When irritated by their interference in religion or politics, she would check them sharply. But in the end she always agreed to respect their privileges, though they usually gave way to her on questions of policy.

Parliament under the Tudors was not a subservient body. On the whole it approved the royal policy, and its members seem to have shared the national devotion to the sovereign. The Commons were mostly chosen from the gentry, for towns seldom chose citizens to represent them, but preferred members of the county families. These were often men of independent views, good education, and considerable experience of local affairs. Their attendance in Parliament gave them practical experience of politics, and their knowledge and opinions influenced their neighbours. So, when the Stuart period began, the country gentry were already interested in the business of government, and ready to begin their struggle to check the power of the monarchy.

EDUCATION

The Renaissance, which began in Italy, was slow in reaching England, though Caxton's introduction of the art of printing (1479), which he had learnt in the Netherlands, made books cheaper and more plentiful. In early Tudor times the new learning had reached only a small group of scholars, such as Colet, Ascham, and Sir Thomas More. It was not until the days of Elizabeth that classical and Italian influence became widely spread. When in Italy the Renaissance had declined, it

came to its full vigour in England, and produced the great literature of the Elizabethan period

The new learning once established, spread rapidly, for it was fashionable, and had the favour of royalty. The Tudor sovereigns were well-educated themselves, and were great patrons of learning. Henry VII's mother, Lady Margaret Beaufort, founded colleges at Cambridge. Both foreign and English scholars united to praise the young Henry VIII for his talents, and for the interest he showed in their work. Henry gave his children, Edward VI and Elizabeth, the best teachers and the most modern education of their day. Elizabeth's knowledge of Greek, Latin, and contemporary foreign languages amazed her own court and foreign ambassadors. It was said that the unfortunate Lady Jane Grey was even more learned, for in Tudor times learned women were by no means rare. The education received by women was very much the same as that given to men.

Education was, of course, limited to a comparatively small part of the nation. It did not reach the masses, and many even of the gentry and nobility were ignorant and uncultured. But when learning was fashionable at court, it became one of the marks of a polished gentleman, and courtiers usually maintained at least the appearance of interest in the culture of the day.

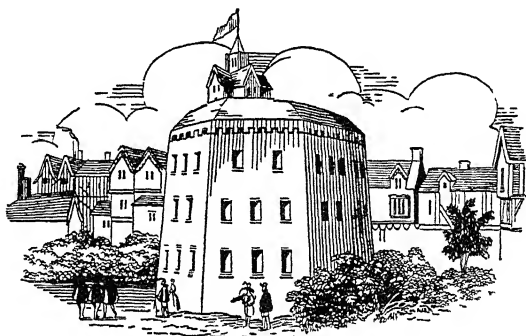
LITERATURE

Gentlemen went to Italy, and learnt to pride themselves on a knowledge of Italian literature. Naturally, too, they tried to imitate what they admired, and the writing of poetry was among the accomplishments favoured at court. It was two courtiers, Sir Thomas Wyatt and the Earl of Surrey, who, in the reign of Henry VIII, paved the way for a new development of English poetry by writing sonnets and blank verse—two Italian poetical forms unknown before in English literature.

At the same time English prose was developing. Latin had been, and still was, the language of learning. Men used it so that all the learned people of Europe might be able to read and understand their works. The common English tongue was despised as fit only for the uneducated. But when, as a result of the Reformation, Protestants began to demand the translation of the Bible into everyday speech, a great impulse was given to the use of English in literature. The first translators of the

Bible, Tyndale and Coverdale, produced translations in splendid English, and their work formed the basis for the Authorised Version produced in James I's reign. Even ignorant people, who met with no other literature, became acquainted with the magnificent prose of the English Bible, and its effect upon the national language and literature has been inestimable.

One of the most remarkable things about the Elizabethan period is the number of writers of genius it produced, and the many-sided activity they displayed. There were translators, writers of religious works, and writers of romances. Above all, there were great poets. The work of Wyatt and Surrey in introducing Italian forms into English poetry, and so giving it new life, was continued by Edmund Spenser. He wrote the



GLOBE THEATRE, STRATFORD-ON-AVON

romantic allegory, the "*Faerie Queene*," and odes, sonnets, and other poems, Spenser's work stands out because of the greatness of his achievement, but there were a host of other poets who wrote beautiful sonnets and lyrics. Many of these, like Sidney and Raleigh, were courtiers.

The greatest name of the period is that of Shakespeare, and this was the time at which the English drama developed. The people, both of the Middle Ages and of Tudor times, were very fond of pageants, processions, and public displays of all kinds. The plays of the Middle Ages had usually been religious in character—either representations of Bible stories, known as "*Miracle plays*," or "*Morality plays*." These were allegories, in which the vices and virtues were personified. But there were

also short, non-religious, comic plays, called "Interludes." These, the miracles, and the moralities, were the native material from which, much modified by classical and Italian influences, English drama was to develop.

Study of the classics had made university men acquainted with the work of Seneca and other Latin dramatists. The first writers of poetical plays, of the type that Shakespeare was to use, were a group of men who had received a university training: Lyly, Greene, Peele, and Marlowe. Of these, Marlowe was the greatest, but his life was short, and his development of the tragic drama in verse was continued by Shakespeare. Shakespeare, with his capacity for writing tragedy, comedy, prose, lyrics, and blank verse, his dramatic technique, and his genius for characterisation, outshone his contemporaries. With him the Elizabethan drama reached its height.

Elizabethan literature reflected the spirit of the age. It was intensely patriotic, and tended to exalt everything English. Growth of national feeling had led to a strong interest in the history of the past, as the historical plays of Shakespeare show. The exploits of contemporary adventurers provided material for writers such as Hakluyt, who recorded their voyages. Interest in the classics produced translations such as North's "Plutarch." Everywhere there were signs of life and genius. In the days of Henry VII., England was only just emerging from the disorder of the Wars of the Roses. In Elizabeth's reign she felt herself to be a united nation, and looked forward confidently to a great future.

TUDOR PERIOD 1485-1603

HENRY VII, 1485-1509 HENRY VIII, 1509-1547 EDWARD V, 1547-1553
 MARY 1553-1558 ELIZABETH, 1558-1603

| | <i>England and Ireland</i> | <i>Scotland and Europe</i> | <i>Exploration</i> |
|------|--|--|---|
| 1485 | 1485 Battle of Bosworth | | |
| | 1487 Battle of Stoke | | 1488 Diaz rounded Cape of Good Hope |
| 1490 | | 1492 Treaty of Etaples | 1492 Discovery of America |
| | 1494 Poynings' Laws | | 1494 Division of New World between Spain and Portugal |
| 1495 | | 1496 Great Intercourse | |
| | 1497 { Cornish rebellion Warbeck's invasion | | 1497 { Vasco da Gama's voyage to India The Cabots in Labrador and Newfoundland |
| 1500 | | 1501 Marriage of Arthur and Catherine of Aragon | |
| | | 1502 Marriage of James IV of Scotland and Margaret Tudor | |
| 1505 | | | |
| 1510 | | 1511 The Holy League | |
| | | 1513 { Battle of Flodden Battle of Spurs | 1513 Balboa reached the Pacific |
| 1515 | | 1514 Peace with France | |
| | | 1515 Francis I King of France | |
| | | 1519 Charles V Emperor | |
| 1520 | | 1521 Alliance with the Emperor | 1521 Spanish conquest of Mexico |
| | | 1522 War with France | |

| | <i>England and Ireland</i> | <i>Scotland and Europe</i> | <i>Exploration</i> |
|------|--|--|---|
| 1525 | | 1525 Battle of Pavia | |
| | | 1527 { Sack of Rome Alliance with France | |
| | 1529 { Fall of Wolsey Reformation Parliament | 1529 Peace of Cambrai | |
| 1530 | | | |
| | 1532 1st Act of Annates | | |
| | 1533 1st Act of Appeals | | |
| | 1534 { 2nd Act of Appeals 1st Statute of Supremacy | | |
| 1535 | | | 1535 { Cartier on the St Lawrence Spanish conquest of Peru completed |
| | 1536 { Dissolution of smaller monasteries Pilgrimage of Grace | | |
| | 1539 Dissolution of larger monasteries | | |
| 1540 | | | |
| | | 1542 Battle of Solway Moss | |
| 1545 | | | |
| | 1549 { 1st Act of Uniformity Ket's Rebellion | 1547 Battle of Pinkie | |
| 1550 | | | |
| | 1552 2nd Act of Uniformity | | |
| | 1554 Wyatt's rebellion | 1554 Spanish marriage alliance | 1554 Muscovy Company founded |
| 1555 | 1555 Restoration of papal authority Religious persecution | | |
| | 1559 Elizabethan church-settlement | 1558 Loss of Calais 1559 Treaty of Cateau-Cambresis | |
| 1560 | | 1560 Treaty of Edinburgh 1561 Mary's return to Scotland | |

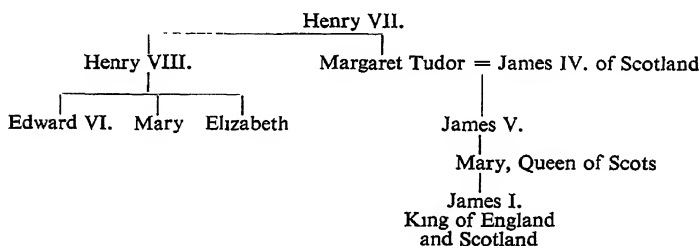
| | <i>England and Ireland</i> | <i>Scotland and Europe</i> | <i>Exploration</i> |
|------|---|---|---|
| | | 1562 Help sent to Huguenots | 1562 Hawkins' 1st voyage to the West Indies |
| 1565 | 1563 Statute of Artificers | 1565 Marriage of Darnley and Mary, Queen of Scots | |
| | 1567 Death of Shane O'Neil | | |
| | 1568 Flight of Mary, Queen of Scots, to England | 1568 Seizure of Alva's treasure | |
| | 1569 { Rising of the Northern Earls Rebellion in Munster | | |
| 1570 | | 1570 Papal Bull of Deposition | |
| | 1571 Ridolfi Plot | 1572 Massacre of St Bartholomew | 1572 Drake reached the Pacific |
| 1575 | | | 1577-1580 Drake's voyage round the world |
| | 1579 2nd rebellion in Munster | | |
| 1580 | 1580 Jesuit Mission | | |
| 1585 | 1585 Throckmorton's Plot | 1585 Assassination of William of Orange | |
| | 1586 Babington's Plot | 1587 Drake sent to Cadiz | |
| | 1587 Execution of Mary, Queen of Scots | 1588 Defeat of the Armada | |
| 1590 | | 1593 Accession of Henry IV of France | |
| 1595 | | 1596 Essex's attack on Cadiz | 1595 Death of Drake in West Indies |
| | 1598 Battle of the Yellow Ford | | |
| 1600 | | | 1600 East India Company founded |
| | 1601 Execution of Essex | | |
| | 1st Poor Law | | |

CHAPTER XXV

JAMES I AND THE BEGINNING OF THE STRUGGLE WITH PARLIAMENT

JAMES I

With the death of Queen Elizabeth (1603) the Tudor period came to an end. The successor to the English throne was James Stuart, King of Scotland, the son of Mary, Queen of Scots, and the great grandson of Henry VII.'s daughter, Margaret Tudor



The change from Tudor to Stuart Kings had important results. England and Scotland were now united under the same ruler. Also just as the Tudor family had seemed to possess a special talent for kingship, so the Stuarts, with the exception of Charles II., were tactless and unfortunate. Their quarrels with their subjects plunged England into civil war, and finally drove their family off the throne.

The first Stuart king of England, James I., is an interesting, though not an attractive, historical figure. Unlike his beautiful mother, Mary, Queen of Scots, he was plain and awkward, and his tastes and manners were coarse and vulgar. He was not physically brave, but he was vigorous and energetic, with a great love of riding and hunting. He was unusually learned for a king, and his character included such an odd mixture of shrewdness, wisdom, and foolishness, that it is difficult to pass any accurate judgment upon him.

James was obstinate and self-opinionated, and had, no sympathy, or patience, with those who disagreed with his political



JAMES I IN PARLIAMENT

or religious views His ideas often were wise, but he lacked the political ability and knowledge of men necessary to carry them out He was a bad judge of men, neglecting those of worth and ability, but giving limitless devotion and trust to favourites who pleased his fancy, and upon whose advice he was willing to rely By clumsiness and obstinacy, rather than through any evil intentions, he managed to pave the way for the religious and political struggle of the next reign

JAMES I AND THE PURITANS

The first problems with which James had to deal were religious The Elizabethan Church settlement had lasted for forty years, and had worked very well The Elizabethan Church still remained the church of all but a small part of the nation Only Catholic recusants and a few extreme Puritans—of whom the most important were the Congregationalists or Independents—refused to attend its services

But inside the Church were a large number of Puritans who thought its services and organisation too Catholic Most of these Puritans were very moderate in their opinions They would have been content if they had been left free to do as they pleased about minor points, such as the wearing of surplices It was the refusal of James to make any concession to these moderate Puritans that drove them out of the Church of England to establish separate communities of their own

The Puritans had hoped that James would favour their cause, since he had been educated by Presbyterians in Scotland So, as soon as he appeared in England, they presented a petition to him, known as the "Millenary Petition" (1603) from the number of clergymen who had signed it This petition contained a list of the religious changes that they desired, and was very moderate in tone The Puritans were willing to use the services of the Anglican Prayer Book, provided that they were not forced to declare their belief in the truth of all the statements contained in it They also asked for a simpler form of worship, and for disuse of such outward signs as the wearing of a surplice and the use of the cross in baptism

To have left them to do as they pleased on many of these points would have made little difference to the established order

of things. But James was an obstinate man, with no idea of making a wise compromise. He accepted the petition, and summoned bishops and Puritan representatives to the Hampton Court Conference (1604) to discuss it. There King and bishops united in refusing every demand advanced by Doctor Reynolds, the spokesman of the Puritan party. On one point only, the need for a new translation of the Bible, was there agreement, so the conference resulted in the production of the "Authorised Version" (1511).

After this a determined attempt was made to crush Puritanism by forcing the clergy to obey the Prayer Book absolutely. This caused three hundred Puritan clergymen to leave the Church. Naturally it was the most conscientious men who stood by their beliefs in this way. Their action commanded respect, and numbers of people flocked to the unauthorised services they held. After this more and more Puritans drifted away from the Church. In the end, largely as a result of James's policy, it ceased to be what Elizabeth had intended: the Church of the whole nation.

In dealing with the Puritans, as in many other things, James was guided by his experience in Scotland. The Scottish reformers had been strongly influenced by the teachings of John Calvin, a Frenchman, who had settled at Geneva. Calvin was bitterly opposed to those Protestants who believed that kings and princes should take the place of the Pope as God's representatives on earth, and should decide the religion of their subjects. These ideas strengthened monarchy by making royal authority into something sacred and not to be opposed.

Calvin taught that the Church should be ruled, not by king and bishops, but by representatives chosen by its members, that is by a Synod or Presbytery, chosen by the various congregations. Royal authority, far from being sacred, was to Calvin of less importance than that of the Church. It is easy to see that such opinions would displease James, who believed that his own royal power came directly from God. He expressed his attitude towards Presbyterianism in the phrase "No bishop, no king."

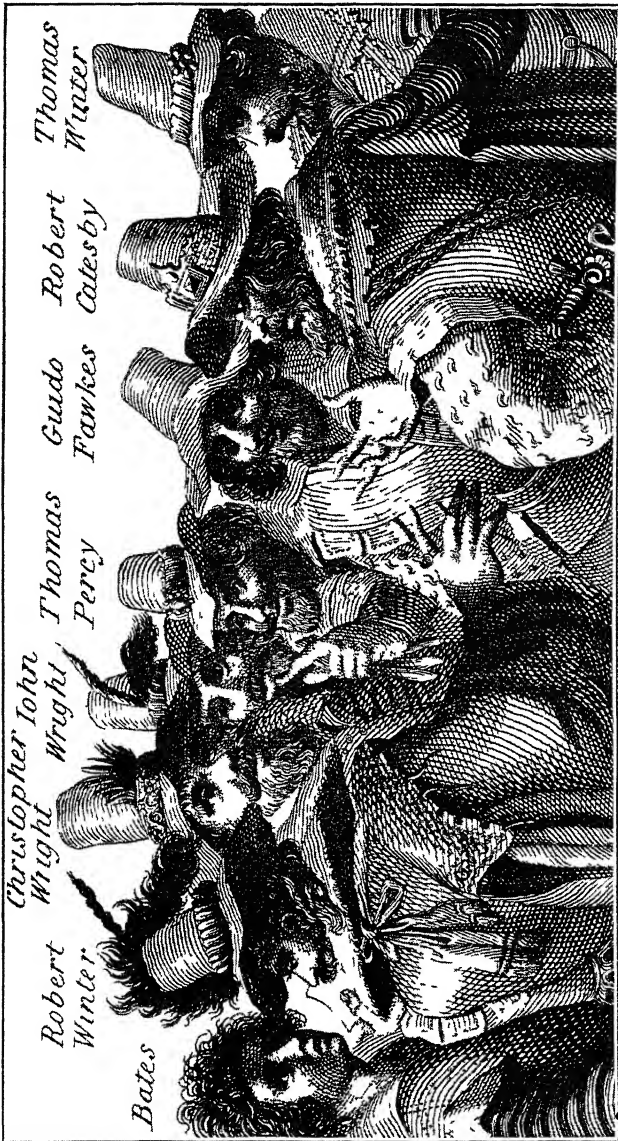
But he was mistaken in thinking that English Puritans held the same advanced views as the Scottish reformers to whom he had been accustomed. At this time few English Puritans wanted to go so far as to abolish episcopacy, or to attack the royal authority.

JAMES I AND THE CATHOLICS

In dealing with the Catholics, James's tactics varied. Catholics were sometimes tolerated and sometimes repressed. A large part of the English nation was still Catholic in sympathy, though only a comparatively small number of Catholics refused to attend Church, and so come under the penalties of the laws against "recusancy." The habit of attendance at Anglican services was gradually weakening the influence of the old religion.

The position of Catholics varied a great deal in different parts of the country. Most townspeople were Protestants, so Catholics did not thrive in towns. In the country their security depended upon the attitude of the local gentry. In some districts these were ready to inflict the penalties of the recusancy laws on their Catholic neighbours. In others Catholic gentlemen could keep priests in their houses, and hold mass for their tenants without much interference. Moreover the policy of the government varied, and laws against Catholics who would not conform to the English Church were sometimes enforced, and sometimes neglected. But the Catholic recusant had an insecure existence, and the life of the Catholic priest in England was a dangerous and furtive one. These were the days of priests' hiding-places in manor-houses, of secret masses, and of intrigues and plots.

Most of the English Catholics were loyally and peacefully inclined. But the Jesuit missionaries, sent to re-convert the country, adopted a policy of conspiracy and rebellion, and the rest of the Catholics suffered for their intrigues. The beginning of the reign saw an outburst of Catholic plotting, and, in 1607, a body of enthusiasts who held that the restoration of their religion justified any policy planned the Gunpowder Plot. By this the House of Lords was to be blown up when King, Lords, and Commons were assembled for the opening of Parliament. The object of the plot was to throw the country into confusion and so provide an opportunity for a Catholic rising. The scheme was discovered and the conspirators were taken and executed, but it had a lasting effect in rousing popular feeling against Catholics. James himself was too shrewd to blame the whole body of peacefully inclined Catholics for it. When, in his desire for friendship with Spain, he began to favour them, this tolerant policy proved as unpopular in England as was his hostility towards the Puritans.



GUY FAWKES AND CONSPIRATORS

“THE DIVINE RIGHT OF KINGS”

In Tudor times the King, having got rid of the great barons, had become very powerful. But, though Tudor sovereigns had ruled despotically and had been careful to maintain their control over Church and State, their statesmanship had been sound. They respected the privileges of Parliament, and avoided any policy that would arouse the serious opposition of the nation.

James I knew little about English prejudices or institutions, and had extreme theories about the importance of monarchy. He held the view adopted by the earlier Protestant reformers in their struggle against the Papacy—that kings were chosen by God and derived their authority from him, so that it was the duty of their people to submit absolutely to their rule. When one considers this theory of the “Divine Right of Kings,” which made obedience to the King a religious duty, it is easy to understand why politics and religion were so entangled with each other during the Stuart period.

Under Tudor rule Parliament had been willing to obey the Crown, but its privileges had been respected and its prestige had increased. It was not willing to accept James I’s theory of divine right, and to admit that its privileges depended on his favour. Parliament did not represent the whole nation, for the mass of the people had no part in the election of its members. But it was the instrument of the wealthy and powerful classes. The nobility and gentry, who had been enriched by the Tudor confiscation of Church-lands, and the wealthy merchants of the towns were determined that the country should be governed in accordance with their interests, rather than by the will of the King. James I’s tactless insistence on his own authority drove Parliament into open opposition to his policy, and the reign was a long series of quarrels between the King and his subjects.

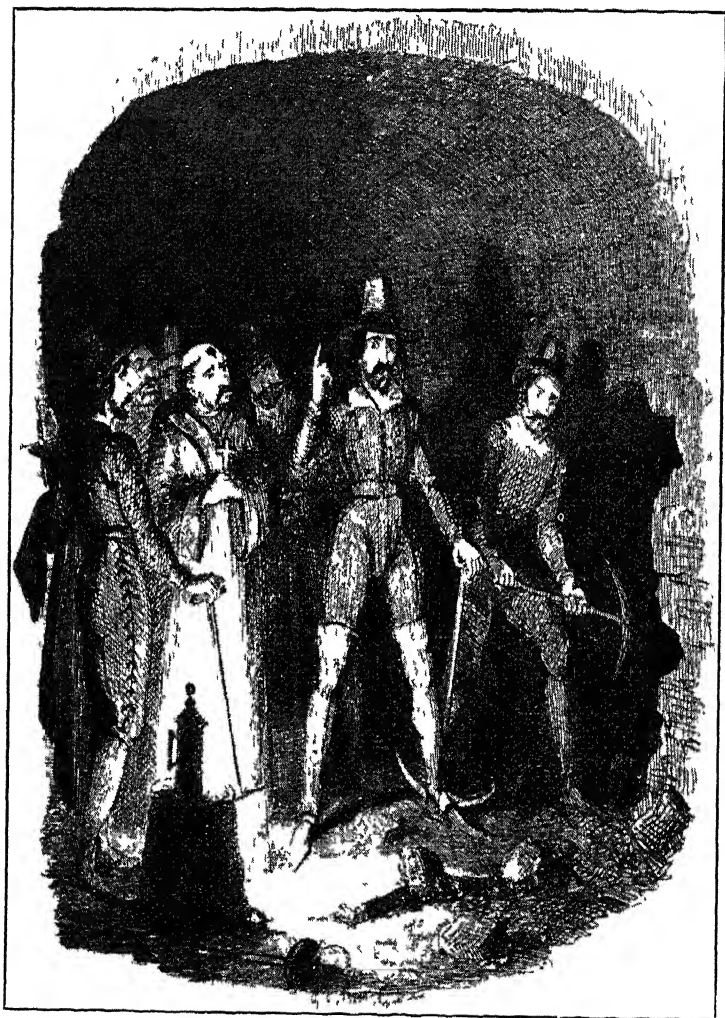
DISPUTES WITH PARLIAMENT

These quarrels, which lasted throughout the reign, began with the meeting of James’s first Parliament (1604-1611), and concerned questions of privilege, finance, and foreign policy. Unwisely, the King began by explaining his theory of “Divine Right.” He also challenged the privileges of Parliament by setting aside the election of Godwin, an outlaw, though the Commons had firmly asserted their right to decide election.

disputes. In this way, the question of the rights of King and Parliament, which the Tudors had been careful not to raise, came to the front. The two, instead of working peacefully together began to regard every question that arose as a means of challenging each other's authority. Even wise royal proposals, such as that for complete union and free trade with Scotland, were rejected. But the law courts decided that Scots born after James's accession were citizens of England as well as of Scotland (Calvin's Case, 1607).

It was concerning money that King and Parliament most frequently disputed. In the Middle Ages the King had been expected to pay for the government of the country out of his own income, and only to ask Parliament for money for such additional expenses as the conduct of a war. The King's income came from many sources. He had great estates, the "Crown Lands," from which he drew rents and other profits. He had "feudal dues," which were payments from the estates of his subjects, made on various occasions and for various reasons. These were a relic of the time when all land was held from the king by feudal tenure. There were also customs dues, levied at the ports on goods entering or leaving the country. The most important of these dues were "tunnage" and "poundage," which were duties levied on each tun of wine and each pound of merchandise. These had, since the accession of Henry VII, been granted for life to each king by Parliament at the beginning of his reign. But during the Tudor period, the value of money had become less, and the work and expenses of government had increased so that even so economical and clever ruler as Elizabeth had found it difficult to make ends meet.

James was an extravagant rather than an economical king, and he soon found it necessary to seek new ways of raising money. He levied additional customs duties, which obtained the name of "Impositions," on various articles. In 1606 Bate, a merchant, refused to pay the duty on currants, on the ground that it had been levied without the consent of Parliament. James took the case to the law courts, and the judges decided that the tax was legal, because the King had the right to protect and tax trade. This was good news for the King, and his minister, Salisbury, issued a "Book of Rates" (1608), which contained a series of similar taxes. This aroused opposition in Parliament, partly because people wanted to escape the taxes,



GUY FAWKES AND THE OTHER CONSPIRATORS ALARMED WHILE DIGGING
THE MINE

and partly because the Commons saw that, if the King were able to raise money without their help, he need not call Parliament at all. They showed their irritation by refusing to consent to the "Great Contract," a scheme by which Salisbury tried to exchange the feudal dues for a fixed and regular payment from landowners. So, in 1611, James dissolved Parliament.

THE KING'S FAVOURITES AND LATER PARLIAMENTS

The King had thus got rid of his chief opponents, but he showed himself incapable of giving the country good government. After the death of Salisbury (1612), who had been Elizabeth's minister, he relied upon favourites, whom he chose because he found them personally attractive. The first of these, Cair, whom he made Earl of Somerset, fell, after a scandalous career. Carr's fall was the result of a trial indicating that he and his wife were responsible for the poisoning of one of his friends, Sir Thomas Overbury. His conduct helped to disgust the nation with the government of the King and his friends.

James's next favourite, the talented George Villiers, who was made Duke of Buckingham, was selfish and changeable, and directed the national policy in accordance with his own whims. In 1614 a new Parliament was summoned, and a group of courtiers, nicknamed the "Undertakers," "undertook" to fill it with members who would support the King. They failed, and the assembly, which only sat for two months, is known as the "Addled Parliament," because it failed to "hatch" a single measure.

For the next seven years James ruled without Parliament and raised money by impositions, forced loans, and the sale of the new title of baronet. The chief opposition to his absolute rule came from the Lord Chief Justice, Sir Edward Coke, who was a brilliant lawyer, though a narrow-minded and conceited man. His respect for his own profession made him feel that the law ought to be superior to the King, instead of, as the judges had held earlier in the reign, the chief support of royal authority. Under Coke's influence, the judges began to decide legal points against the King, instead of in his favour, and in 1616 Coke was dismissed.



LORD BACON

Gooch

His rival, Francis Bacon, who was not only a great lawyer, but a scientist and philosopher as well, became Chancellor. Bacon used his legal influence to support the royal authority. In the next Parliament (1621), Coke became a leader of the opposition to the King and his ministers, and the attack of Parliament upon the granting of monopolies led to the impeachment and dismissal of Bacon. So successful had been the King's

attempts to raise money that only the possibility of war had made it necessary to summon Parliament. Foreign policy now became the issue about which King and Commons were to dispute.

RELATIONS WITH FRANCE AND SPAIN

When James came to the throne, England was still at war with Spain. The peace made by the new King in 1604 was unpopular, because the English had come to regard Spain as the national enemy, and the plundering of Spanish shipping and commerce as their right. But in this instance James was wiser than his subjects. England was a comparatively poor and weak country and having, by the defeat of the Armada, freed herself from fear of a Spanish invasion, she had everything to gain by bringing the war to an end. In these peace negotiations, the King had the advice of Elizabeth's minister, Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, and, until Salisbury's death (1612), the conduct of foreign affairs was left in his hands.

At this time France and Spain were still the two strongest and most important countries in Europe. Spain was already beginning to decline, but France, whose religious wars had ended when Henry IV granted toleration to the Huguenots in the Edict of Nantes, was becoming stronger. These changes were not yet very noticeable, and Spanish power was still respected and feared. England was much weaker than either France or Spain. Elizabeth's clever diplomacy, by taking advantage of the rivalry between these powers, had managed to keep her own country safe, but England could not hope to play a leading part in foreign affairs. Unfortunately, James, who, after Cecil's death, took foreign policy into his own hands, did not realise his country's weakness. He thought that, by making alliances with different powers, England might become the peace-maker of Europe. His subjects, even more unwisely, wanted England to become the champion and protector of the European Protestants.

THE PROTESTANT AND CATHOLIC ALLIANCES

The centre of trouble in Europe was now Germany. The German states were loosely united in the Holy Roman Empire, and some of them were Catholic and some Protestant. It seemed to James that, by concluding two alliances, one Protestant and

one Catholic, he might influence both religious parties and make peace between them. In 1613, he married his daughter, Elizabeth, to a German prince, Frederick, the Elector Palatine of the Rhine, who was one of the leaders of the German Protestants. He then began to negotiate for the marriage of his son, Charles, to a Spanish princess, for the Hapsburg rulers of Spain and the Empire were the leaders of the European Catholics.

In deciding his policy James had failed to consider its difficulties. In the first place, Spain was not eager for the English alliance, and negotiations dragged on without reaching any definite conclusion. His obstinate desire for friendship with Spain caused the King to fall almost completely under the influence of Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador. This, together with the policy of toleration of Catholics, adopted to please Spain, infuriated the English Protestants.

In 1617 James gave way sufficiently to the party that desired a revival of the Elizabethan raids on Spanish America, to allow Sir Walter Raleigh, the last of the adventurers of Elizabeth's day, to go on an expedition in search of gold. Raleigh, who had been accused of plotting at the beginning of the reign, and had been confined for twelve years in the Tower, set out gladly. He sailed to the Orinoco, but failed to discover gold. On his return to England, the complaints of the Spanish ambassador led to his execution. During his life, Raleigh had been unpopular, but he soon became a national hero, and English hostility to Spain was still further increased by his fate.

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

Meanwhile, James's Protestant alliance was leading him into trouble. The Elector Frederick was a man of great ambition but little capacity, quite ready to plunge into adventures, but not likely to be successful. He was anxious to play a leading part in Germany. When the Protestants of the Kingdom of Bohemia drove out the ministers of their Catholic king, Ferdinand of Hapsburg, and offered the Bohemian crown to Frederick, he accepted it readily (1619). This was a challenge, not only to the Catholic states of Germany, but to the immensely powerful Hapsburg family, the rulers of Spain and of the Empire. Ferdinand of Hapsburg, whom the Bohemians had deposed, was

elected Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire In 1620, only a year after the Elector Frederick had been made king, the Emperor's troops invaded Bohemia, defeated him in the Battle of the White Hill, and drove him out of the country A year later he was also expelled from his own Palatine Electorate of the Rhine, and was forced to take refuge in Holland

These events upset James's foreign schemes, and involved him in a new quarrel with his subjects The English Protestants wanted him to go to war on behalf of Frederick, whom they regarded as the champion of their religion In refusing to make war James was wise, for England was neither strong nor rich enough for such a course She had no interests to defend in Germany, and the struggle that Frederick had begun was far from being simply one between Catholic and Protestant It lasted so long that it gained the title of the "Thirty Years' War," and proved one of the most cruel and terrible wars in history, laying Germany waste The English Protestants were certainly foolish in trying to force their King to take part in such a struggle but James was not much wiser He renewed his attempt to secure a Spanish marriage alliance in the hope that his influence over the King of Spain might secure the restoration of the Elector Frederick

ATTITUDE OF PARLIAMENT NEGOTIATIONS WITH SPAIN

The Parliament called by James in 1621, seven years after the failure of the "Addled" Parliament, was summoned because the King feared that his foreign policy might prove expensive But Parliament irritated him by demanding war and the abandonment of the Spanish marriage As foreign policy had always been considered especially the business of the King, James ordered the Commons to stop discussing "matters too high for them" The reply was the famous "Protestation of the Commons," in which the Commons declared their right to complete freedom of speech and discussion This solemn protest was entered in the Journal of the House, and James, exasperated, sent for the book and tore out the page on which it was written

The King ignored his subjects' desire for war, and continued his unpopular negotiations for a Spanish marriage for his son

Charles. In 1623, his favourite, Buckingham, wearied by the length of these negotiations, set out for Spain, in company with Charles himself, to press for the marriage. Buckingham was haughty and spoilt, and his conduct offended the Spaniards, while their cold reception of him made him angry. The visit came to an unfortunate conclusion and wrecked all James's hopes of obtaining the marriage. But, on their return, the Prince and the Duke received an enthusiastic popular welcome, so they decided to avenge themselves on Spain by supporting the party that wished for war. The King's desire for peace was ignored, and he was forced, now that his own supporters had turned against him, to give way. War was declared upon Spain, and a Parliament summoned in 1624 readily granted money for it. In the next year the King died, having seen all his schemes for European peace come to nothing, and leaving his son faced by troubles both at home and abroad.

CHAPTER XXVI

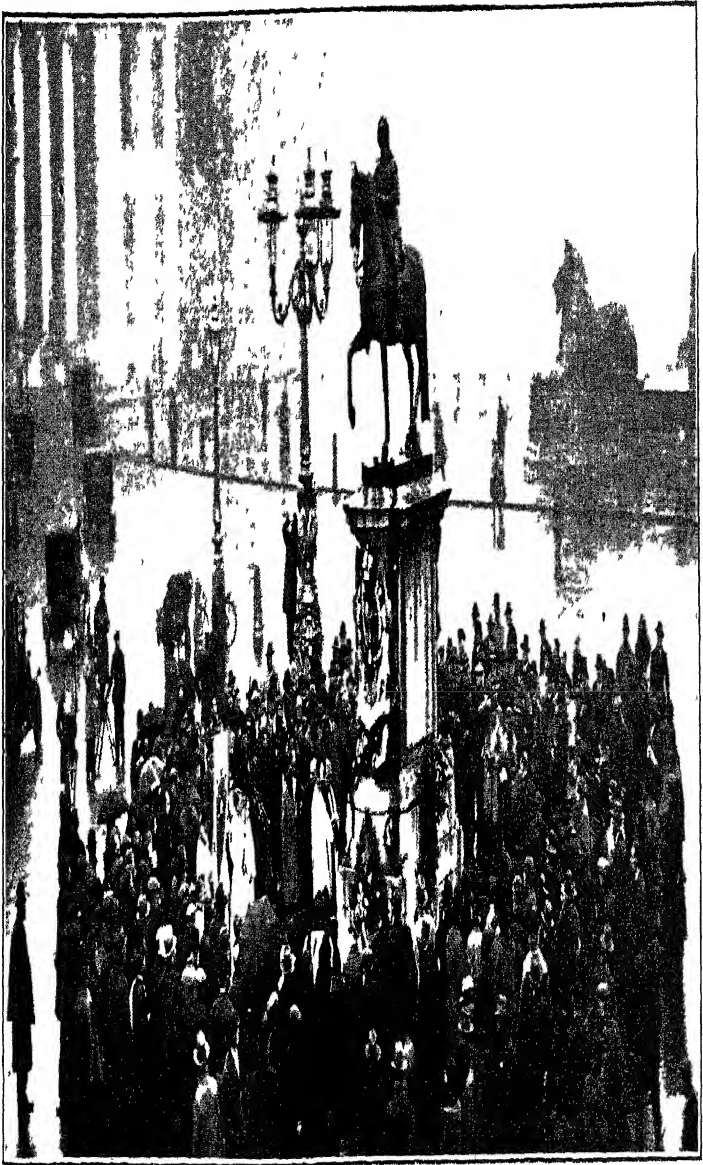
CHARLES I AND THE STRUGGLE WITH PARLIAMENT

BUCKINGHAM: RELATIONS WITH FRANCE

When James I died, his favourite, George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, continued to rule the country, for the new king, Charles I., was as devoted to the Duke as his father had been. Buckingham's worst fault was irresponsibility. He was ready to commit England to any policy that suited his own whims, and he was too careless in the working out of his plans for them to achieve success. Having declared war on Spain at the end of the last reign he now sent an army to Germany to support the cause of England's Protestant ally, the Elector Frederick. This army, commanded by a foreign mercenary soldier, Mansfeld, was untrained, and short of money and provisions. It never reached Germany, but perished in Holland through sickness and starvation.

About the same time (1625) the Duke arranged for the marriage of Charles I. to a French princess, Henrietta Maria, the sister of Louis XIII. The marriage was unpopular in England, and the French alliance, which it was meant to establish, was soon broken off. Buckingham had begun a personal quarrel with Louis XIII. and his minister, Richelieu, and in 1627 declared war on France. Expeditions were sent to help the French Huguenots, who were quarrelling with the Government and were besieged in La Rochelle. They failed, and England, at war with two powers much stronger than herself, was saved from disaster only because France and Spain were too much occupied by their own affairs, and by the 'Thirty Years' War, to attack her.

Buckingham's warlike policy made it necessary to ask Parliament for money, and it was at once apparent that the quarrels of the last reign were likely to continue. Charles, like his father, was tactless and bigoted, and absolutely convinced of his "divine right" to rule as he pleased, and always readier to snub the Commons than to conciliate them. His attitude of



CHARLES I. MEMORIAL SERVICE

complete superiority must have been very irritating to his opponents. On the other hand, he was conscientious, and really wished to govern well. The three Parliaments he summoned during the first four years of his reign were hostile and unreasonable. They concentrated their attention completely upon curbing the power, and criticising the policy, of Charles and Buckingham, and would not supply money for the war. They even limited to a single year their grant of tonnage and poundage, a regular part of the revenue, usually granted to the King for life.

DISSATISFACTION OF PARLIAMENT

By refusing the money needed for the war and for the ordinary business of government, Parliament hoped to force the King to give way to their determination to get rid of Buckingham. In Charles's second Parliament (1626) the Duke was "impeached", that is, the Commons accused him on various counts and presented him to the House of Lords for trial. This method of attacking a minister had been invented by the Parliaments of the fourteenth century, but had not been used during the Tudor period, when Crown and Parliament worked amicably together. To stop the impeachment Charles dissolved Parliament, placing in the Tower Sir John Eliot, a Cornish gentleman, who was the leader of the attack upon the Duke.

Buckingham had been saved, but the King still needed money, so he began to levy contributions, known as "forced loans," from his subjects. This way of raising money was not new, but Charles's summary methods of dealing with recalcitrants aroused indignation. The gentry were imprisoned by the King's orders, and poorer people were forced to join the army. Another method of dealing with families opposed to the royal will was to billet soldiers upon them. The gentry were too rich and influential to submit quietly to such treatment, and in 1627 the "Five Knights' Case" was brought before the judges in the hope that the King's behaviour would be proved illegal. In this case, five knights claimed their liberty on the ground that they had been imprisoned by the King's order alone, without any reason being given. A majority of the judges decided that their imprisonment was legal. It seemed therefore as if the King could, if need be, rule without Parliament and raise money by his own authority. It was evident, too, that the methods used by the King jeopardised the liberty of his subjects.

WENTWORTH AND THE "PETITION OF RIGHT"

But Charles did not yet attempt to rule without Parliament. When that body met again, in 1628, the Commons, led by Eliot and Sir Thomas Wentworth, made a firm protest against the attempt to govern by force. In the "Petition of Right" (1628), for which Wentworth was chiefly responsible, they demanded

(i) That no one should be forced to pay any gift, loan, benevolence, or tax of the kind recently levied, without the consent of Parliament

(ii) That no one should be imprisoned without a reason being given for it

(iii) That people should not have troops billeted on them as a punishment for opposing the King

(iv) That martial law should not be established in time of peace

This petition was too just and reasonable to be refused, and the King, perhaps feeling that, in his recent methods, he had gone too far, accepted it. This satisfied Wentworth, who did not wish to see the royal authority subordinated to that of Parliament. He left the opposition, joined the King's party, and became President of the Council of the North. Soon afterwards, the assassination of Buckingham by a Puritan fanatic (1628) removed the minister so hated by the Commons. But, instead of the struggle of King and Parliament coming to an end, it broke out with new vigour over the question of tunnage and poundage.

Trouble arose from Charles's failure to keep his promises, and also from the obstinacy of the Commons. After granting the petition, the King continued to levy tunnage and poundage on his own authority. Accused by the Commons of breaking his word, he said that this tax did not come within the meaning of the petition, which referred only to other taxes, such as had been recently levied. He would have done well not to quibble in this way, and the Commons would have done well to pass the matter over, since they intended to grant tunnage and poundage.

But now that Wentworth was gone, the Commons were dominated by Puritan leaders who were angry, not only at the King's conduct over taxation, but about his toleration of Catholics, and the favour he showed to the opponents of

Puritanism Hearing that Charles intended to adjourn Parliament, they locked the doors, and held down in his chair the Speaker, who disapproved of their violence. Thus he could not rise to end the sitting of the House. They then passed a Resolution which denounced, as enemies of England and betrayers of her liberty, all those who

(i) Made changes or innovations in religion

(ii) Counsell'd the collection of tunnage and poundage without the consent of Parliament, or paid the tax when so levied



THOMAS WENTWORTH, EARL OF STRAFFORD

This resolution was a direct attack upon the King and his ministers, but Charles dissolved Parliament, and so got rid of his critics. Not content with this, he imprisoned Eliot and other leaders in the Tower, where Eliot died three years later. This use of force to check criticism was both unconstitutional, since the Commons had the privilege of free speech, and bad policy since it put the King in the wrong and made Eliot into a martyr. For the next eleven years Charles ruled England without the help of Parliament.

GOVERNMENT WITHOUT PARLIAMENT TAXATION

The eleven years during which Charles ruled without Parliament were a period of good government and of national prosperity. Opposition was sternly, and in some cases cruelly, repressed. The King's chief ministers, Laud and Wentworth, though they had no sympathy with Parliamentary government, were efficient and disinterested—working for what they considered to be the good of the nation. As in Tudor times, the country was governed through the Council and its branches, the Star Chamber and the Council of the North being particularly important. Attempts to make Puritans conform to the Anglican Church angered them, and the gentry and merchants disliked the taxes levied upon them, though these were moderate in amount. But the mass of the people were contented, for the Council endeavoured to check oppression and to give equal justice to all. That this period has sometimes been called the "Eleven Years' Tyranny" is mostly due to the strong party feeling caused by the struggle between King and Parliament.

To obtain money the King used much the same means as his predecessors. The worst of these was the granting of monopolies, which always tended to increase the price of articles used by every one, poor as well as rich. Merchants had to pay the customary tunnage and poundage, and also "Impositions"—the additional customs dues that had been levied by James I. They were not over-taxed, for trade was flourishing. Charles obtained money from landowners chiefly by a careful insistence upon his rights. As much as possible was extorted in feudal dues, and all those who had the necessary qualifications were forced to take up the duties of knighthood, or were fined (distrainment of knighthood). For some time landowners had been encroaching upon the royal forests. Much ill-feeling was caused when the King made enquiries into such encroachments, fined offenders, and insisted on resuming his forest rights. But there was little resistance to any of this taxation, which fell on the classes that could best afford to pay it—the landowners and merchants. No one wanted to pay taxes, but when payment had to be made, most of the nation cared little whether they were levied by King or Parliament.

It is never difficult to rouse resentment against taxation, and the men who had been leaders of the Commons in the recent

Parliament were keeping closely in touch with each other, and were ready to take every opportunity to resist the King's policy. These men, mostly Puritans in religion, were country gentlemen, like Hampden, Pym, and Holles. Many of them also were connected with trading and colonising ventures, so taxation of every kind affected them. Their party also included lawyers, like St John, who were naturally interested in the constitutional rights of King and Parliament.

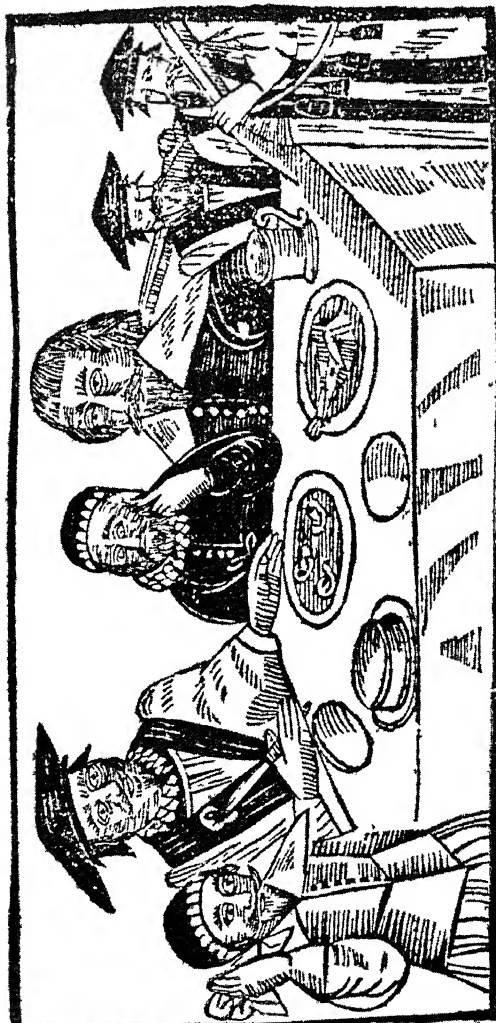
It was difficult for them to organise resistance to the King so long as no Parliament met. When Charles added to his revenue by reviving the collection of "Ship Money," one of their number, John Hampden, took the opportunity to dispute the legality of the tax, which was a levy claimed from the maritime counties to pay for naval defence. Charles had made peace with France and Spain in 1630, but he saw the need for an efficient navy, and levied Ship Money in 1634 and 1635 to pay for it. In 1636 the tax was levied upon the whole country, and Hampden determined to test its legality by refusing to pay it (1637). He argued that the consent of Parliament was necessary for taxation. The judges decided against him, on the ground that the King was responsible for the defence of his kingdom, and had the right both to raise money for defence in time of danger, and to decide when a state of danger existed.

WENTWORTH AND LAUD

Like Charles himself, the King's principal advisers were not men to conciliate opposition. Sir Thomas Wentworth, who had joined the King's party after the Petition of Right, believed in autocratic government. He had no sympathy with the attempts of Parliament to rule the country. The aim of his administration was efficiency, which he expressed in his watchword of "Thorough," and his ideal was the efficient despotism of Tudor times. After his appointment as President of the Council of the North (1628), he ruled the northern counties with a strong hand, administering impartial justice. This did not please the landowners, who found that the rights of their tenants were upheld against them. His arbitrary measures gained him the nickname of "Black Tom Tyrant."

In 1633, Wentworth became Lord Deputy of Ireland. There he attacked the corruption and misgovernment of officials in a way that earned him their lasting hatred. In Ireland, as in

Enter the Bishop of Canterbury, and with him a Doctor of Physicke, a Lawyer, and a Divine; who being set downe, they bring him variety of Dishes to his Table,



A CARICATURE OF WILLIAM LAUD
ENJOYING A FEAST FROM THE EARS OF PERSECUTED PURITANS

the north of England, he administered justice impartially, and guarded the interests of the lower classes. He also improved Irish trade, increased the revenue, and created and paid a disciplined army. But in Ireland his methods were completely despotic. He himself admitted this, though he claimed that the corrupt state of the Irish government made them necessary. His continuation of the harsh Tudor policy, by planting Connaught after Charles had promised that no such plantation should be made, cannot be justified. But, on the whole, Wentworth, in his despotism, showed more care for the rights and welfare of the masses than did the Parliamentarians, who cared chiefly for the interests of merchants and landowners.

William Laud, who became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1633, had perhaps less genius than Wentworth, but an equal capacity for making enemies. Like Wentworth, he did justice without regard for the power and influence of those with whom he had to deal. Through the Court of Star Chamber he championed the cause of the lower classes against oppression. He earned the dislike of the gentry by attempting to check the spread of enclosures, and by his ruthless attacks on official corruption. But Laud's honesty was accompanied by a narrow-mindedness that put him altogether out of sympathy with his opponents. He was ready to inflict cruel punishments for offences that many considered of little real importance. It is this side of his character that appears in his treatment of the Puritans.

Laud belonged to the section of the Anglican Church that upheld royal authority as a matter of religious duty. He had also a great interest in the ceremonial side of religion, and his insistence upon ritual led the Puritans to regard him as little better than a Catholic. He did good work in restoring order and decency in church services, but he carried his insistence on points of ritual very far, trying to force them on the Puritans against their will. He also tried to suppress Puritan lay-preaching, because it did not fit into his system. He used the censorship of the Press as an excuse for punishing those whose writings he did not approve. These punishments were sometimes cruel, as when Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick were fined, imprisoned, and sentenced to have their ears cut off, Burton for criticising the ceremonies of the Church, Bastwick for attacks on the bishops, and Prynne for a denunciation of the theatre that was construed as an attack upon the Queen.

SCOTLAND AND THE BISHOPS' WARS

In trying to rule without Parliament, Charles showed his lack of political wisdom. However well the country might be governed, the established order of things was upset. Unfamiliar and irritating ways of raising money had to be used, and the merchants and gentry, whom the Tudors had always tried to keep in good humour, were made hostile. This hostility was sure to break out into open opposition as soon as an opportunity appeared. Such an opportunity was given by the revolt provoked by the King's policy in Scotland.

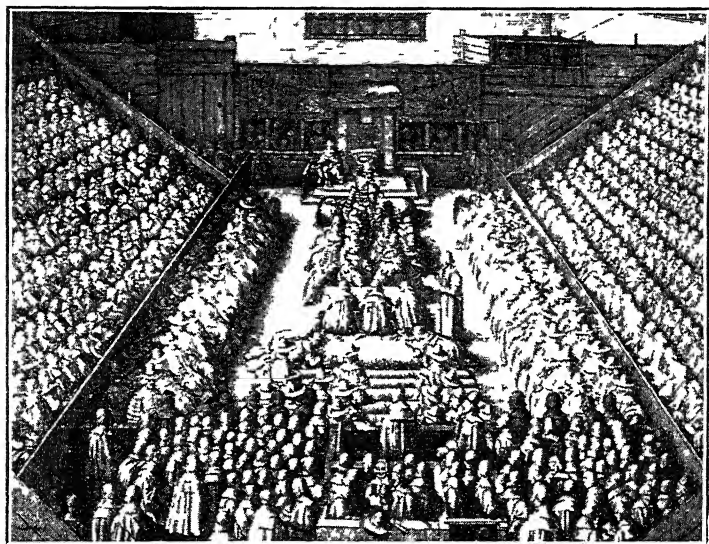
This revolt was the result of Laud's religious policy. Scotland was Presbyterian in religion, and the General Assembly of the Scottish Church was a far more powerful and influential body than the Scottish Parliament, which was more or less under royal control. Laud failed to see that he could not alter the religion of a national and well-organised Church. He might have taken warning when the Scottish Presbyterians swore in the "National Covenant" (1633) to resist changes in religion. But, in spite of this, the Scottish Church was re-organised on English lines, and was ordered to use a prayer book based on that of the Church of England. The General Assembly retaliated by rejecting the prayer book, abolishing episcopacy, and raising an army under the command of Alexander Leslie, a Scottish soldier who had fought in the Thirty Years' War. The two revolts that followed are known as the Bishops' Wars (1638-40), and, as Charles lacked the money to repress them, he had to summon Parliament to grant supplies.

THE "SHORT" AND THE "LONG" PARLIAMENTS

The first of the Parliaments summoned during this crisis is known as the "Short Parliament" (1640). It sat for three weeks only. At the end of that time, since the Commons discussed their grievances instead of granting money, the King lost patience. Against the advice of Wentworth, who had been recalled from Ireland and created Earl of Strafford, Charles dissolved Parliament. He then had to raise money on his own authority, but some of his subjects had been thoroughly roused and they refused to pay taxes. This forced the King to summon a new Parliament, for the Scots had occupied the northern

counties of England. Since the English army lacked money and supplies it had been driven to make a truce with them.

In this Parliament, known as the "Long Parliament," the leader of the opposition to the King was John Pym. Pym was a Puritan country gentleman, who had interests and connections in the city of London, and was in close touch with the various opponents of the royal government. He was a clever politician, and saw at once that Strafford was the only one of the King's



Rischgitz

TRIAL OF STRAFFORD IN WESTMINSTER HALL, 1641, BY HOLLAR

ministers who was able and loyal enough to be really dangerous to Parliament. Since, like most statesmen of the day, Pym believed in the forcible suppression of his opponents, he first impeached the Earl, and then, when the charges against him could not be proved, secured the passing of an Act of Attainder, by which he was declared guilty of treason. This Act of Parliament, like all others, required the assent of the King and, after some hesitation, it was given. This is not to Charles's credit, for Strafford's autocratic methods of government had had the royal approval. His execution (1641), which was followed in 1645 by

that of Laud left Charles without any adviser clever enough to deal with the Commons, and Parliament proceeded to pass whatever Acts it considered necessary

ATTEMPTS TO LIMIT THE KING'S POWER

Parliament was determined that the King should have no further opportunity to rule despotically. After it had arranged for the compensation of Laud's victims, Pynne, Bastwick, and Burton, it set aside the verdict of the judges in Hampden's Case. It also declared the collection of Ship Money illegal, as well as that of the other taxes which Charles had levied on his own authority. This settled the question of taxation by making it illegal for the King to levy taxes without the consent of Parliament. At the same time the country gentlemen safeguarded their own interests by an Act that forbade the King to take back such parts of the royal forests as were in their hands. A Triennial Act ordered the summoning of Parliament at least once in every three years.

But Parliament was not content with measures designed to prevent the King from ruling without its help. It also passed Acts which put an end to the Tudor system of government through the Council. The Star Chamber, the Council of the North, and the Council of Wales were abolished. These courts, which tried cases without a jury and were controlled by the King and his ministers, had been guilty of acts of tyranny, but they had also been a means of securing justice for the poor. They now disappeared, together with the Court of High Commission, established by Elizabeth to exercise the royal supremacy over the Church, and used by Laud in his efforts to suppress Puritanism.

Parliament had united to prevent the establishment of an absolute monarchy, but when the Puritan members of the Commons wanted to alter the Church, agreement ceased. The Root and Branch Bill, which the Puritans had introduced to get rid of the bishops "root and branch," met with strong opposition and failed. Moreover, it inclined many members of Parliament to support the King, whose religious policy pleased them far better than did that of the Puritans. Thus a great opportunity was provided for the King, but, with his usual lack of political wisdom, he neglected it and went off to Scotland, where he hoped

to pacify the Scots by religious concessions. In Scotland his policy failed, for he gave way so completely to the Scottish demands that the Scots despised his weakness. They felt that they could do as they pleased, without making any concessions in return. At the same time, Hamilton, the leader of the royalist party in Scotland, tried to kidnap Argyle, the leader of the Presbyterians, and this affair, the "Incident," caused the King to be further mistrusted.

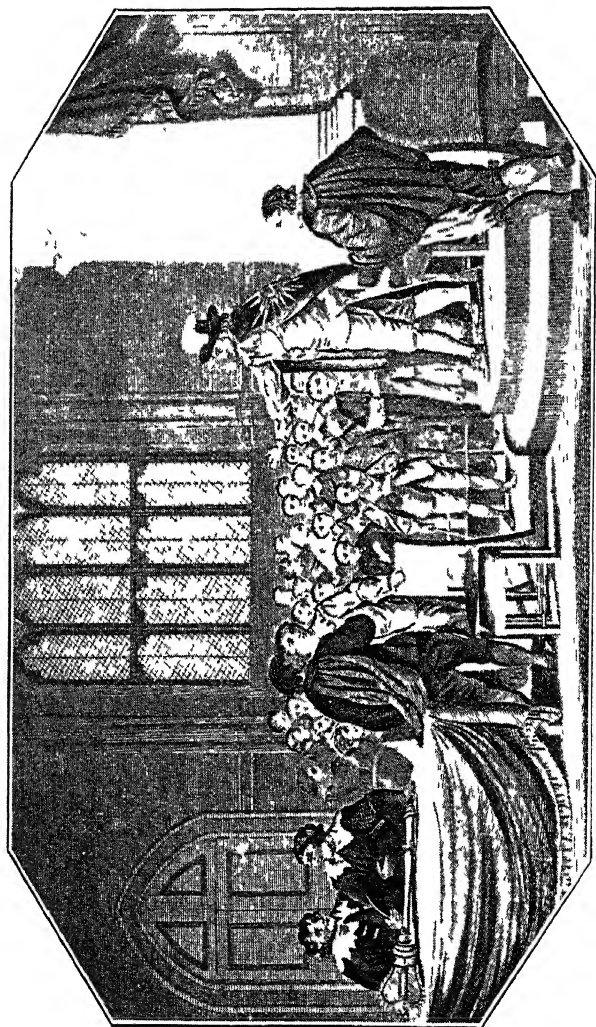
THE GRAND REMONSTRANCE

At this time matters were further complicated by the outbreak of a Catholic rebellion in Ireland, and a massacre of Protestants in Ulster. To suppress the rising placed Parliament in a dilemma, for the Puritans did not want to entrust the King with an army in case he should use it against them. Unwisely they issued the "Grand Remonstrance," a long petition which enumerated all the misdeeds committed by the King since the beginning of his reign. Most people felt that this was an unnecessary re-opening of questions already settled, and the effect of the Remonstrance was to arouse sympathy for the King.

But Charles was as violent and unreasonable as the Puritans. He now put himself in the wrong by attempting to arrest five members of the Commons, because he had heard that they intended to impeach the Queen. He appeared in the House with a body of armed men, but the five members had already escaped, and the Speaker refused to give any information about them. After this, the King left London. The Commons made the breach with him final by passing a Militia Bill, which transferred control of the militia from King to Parliament. They also issued the Nineteen Propositions (1642), by which they claimed the right to choose the King's ministers and to reform the Church. Charles had no intention of permitting the Commons to rule the country, so, in August, 1642, he raised his standard at Nottingham, and the Civil War began.

THE COUNTRY DIVIDED

It is difficult to say whether King or Parliament was the more responsible for the outbreak of the Civil War. Both parties acted violently and unwisely, and neither was willing to make concessions. There was no clear reason why a war should be

*Gooch*

CHARLES I. DEMANDING THE PERSONS OF THE FIVE MEMBERS WHOM HE HAD
ACCUSED OF TREASON

fought, for the Long Parliament, by making illegal non-Parliamentary taxation and government by Council, had put an end to the autocratic government that had roused opposition to Charles. Had both parties been reasonable, this settlement might have ended the struggle. But the leaders of the Puritans were determined to alter the English Church to suit themselves, while Charles was an equally firm supporter of the religious views of Laud. Probably the greater part of the nation preferred a moderate policy in religion. Both Puritans and High Churchmen were in a minority. The way in which they managed to drag the rest of the country into their quarrel shows how much mischief can be made by determined people, even if their number are comparatively small.

The Parliamentary party nicknamed their opponents "Cavaliers," and received in return the name of "Roundheads," because of the Puritan fashion of cutting the hair short. But men of much the same sort were to be found in both parties, and sometimes even members of the same family fought on different sides. Puritans usually fought for Parliament, while High Churchmen fought for the King. So did Catholics, who feared Puritan intolerance. But many of those who took part in the war had little interest in the religious quarrel.

Puritanism was strong in the towns, especially in London. The gentry were divided. So were the country people, who frequently, in this as in other matters, adopted the opinions of the local squire. On the whole, the north and west, where old customs were strong and ideas conservative, supported the King, while the more progressive south and east were Parliamentary. In speaking of the attitude of Parliament itself, it is necessary to remember that the royalist members disappeared from it at the beginning of the war and only those opposed to the King remained to carry on the struggle against him.

At first the armies of both parties were mostly untrained and of poor quality. In each county there was a local militia for county defence. These forces served with whichever party their county happened to favour, but they were inefficient and would seldom fight outside their own district. Parliament had an efficient body of infantry in the "trained bands" of London. Except for this, the best men on both sides, at the beginning of the war, were volunteers. These were mostly cavalry, and Charles's cavalry was better than Parliament's, because many of

his volunteers were the warlike gentry of the north and their followers. Also, he had a good cavalry leader in his nephew, Prince Rupert, the son of the Elector Frederick.

BEGINNING OF THE WAR IRELAND AND SCOTLAND

In 1642 the only important battle was an indecisive one between the King and the Parliamentary general, Essex, at Edgehill, near Banbury. This checked the royalist advance upon London, and caused the King to make Oxford his headquarters. But the royalists under Hopton were successful in the west, while Newcastle gained Yorkshire for them.

In 1643 the royalist successes continued. In the west the royalist general, Hopton, defeated Waller, the Parliamentary general, at Stratton, Lansdown, and Roundway Down. Bristol was then besieged and taken, and the west was in royalist hands. The King and Essex met once more in the first battle of Newbury, without any definite result. In the north Newcastle defeated the Parliamentary commander, Lord Fairfax, at Adwalton Moor in Yorkshire. Things looked black for Parliament, whose armies and leaders were both of poor quality. But in this year new factors were introduced, destined to change the whole course of the war.

In the first place both King and Parliament had been seeking to add to their forces. Charles entered into negotiations with the Irish rebels, which led to the declaration of a truce, the "Cessation." This made it possible to bring to England the royalist army in Ireland, commanded by Ormonde. At the same time Parliament was turning to Scotland for help. The Scots, having secured their own religious freedom, would only help Parliament on their own terms. These were embodied in an agreement concluded between the two parties, the "Solemn League and Covenant." This promised

(i) That the Scottish army should serve Parliament for pay.

(ii) That the Scottish Church should be maintained in the existing form (Presbyterian).

(iii) That the English Church should be brought into conformity with the Scottish one, and that Anglicanism and Catholicism should be stamped out.

Thus, just as Charles had tried to force the Anglican religion upon Scotland, so Scotland now attempted to force England to

become Presbyterian. This attempt was to be the cause of much strife, for, though Parliament established the "Westminster Assembly" to reform the English Church, the changes were not destined to be peacefully carried out.

OLIVER CROMWELL CONTINUATION OF THE WAR

Parliament's position was improved not only by the Scottish alliance, but by the appearance of a man of military genius in its own ranks. Oliver Cromwell, a country gentleman from Ely, had had some Parliamentary experience, but had not distinguished himself in any way till the outbreak of war. Up to that time he was noted chiefly for the extreme Puritanism of his religious beliefs. Cromwell raised a troop of horse, with which he fought for Parliament at Edgehill. Then, discovering a real talent for military organisation and tactics, he went back to his own district to organise the army of the "Eastern Association," a union formed by the eastern counties. Cromwell paid great attention to discipline and organisation, and the cavalry he trained earned, by its steadiness, the name of "Ironsides." With the army of the Eastern Association he overran Lincolnshire in 1643, securing it for Parliament at a time when the royalists were successful almost everywhere else.

In 1644 the Scottish army, under its old commander, Leslie, now Earl of Leven, appeared once more in England. Driving back the royalist leader, Newcastle, they shut him up in York. Charles sent Prince Rupert to raise the siege of York, and Cromwell brought the army of the Eastern Association from Lincolnshire to aid Fairfax and the Scots. The two armies fought at Marston Moor, where the Parliamentarians gained such a decisive victory that the north fell into their hands. Scotland and northern England seemed lost to Charles, but the Scottish Marquis of Montrose managed to reach Scotland with only one or two friends, and to raise the Scottish clans to fight for the King. His victories at Tippermuir, Inverlochy, and Kilsyth regained Scotland for the royalists.

In the south and west of England the fighting of 1644 was indecisive. In the previous year, Hopton had secured the west for the royalists. He now tried to join the King for an advance upon London, but Waller stopped this by defeating him at



OLIVER CROMWELL

Cheriton Charles himself then defeated Waller at Cropredy Bridge, and marched to join Hopton in the west. In Cornwall Waller was decisively defeated, and forced to surrender at Lostwithiel. But the royalist march to London was checked, in the indecisive second battle of Newbury, by the army of the Eastern Association, which had marched south after Marston Moor.

CROMWELL'S LEADERSHIP AND THE ROYALIST DEFEAT

Newbury was important, because the failure of the Parliamentary general, the Earl of Manchester, to gain a decisive victory led to changes in the leadership and organisation of the Parliamentary army. The man really responsible for these changes was Cromwell, whose military successes had made him a person of the highest importance to the Parliamentary cause. The Self-Denying Ordinance enjoined that members of Parliament gave up their military commands. Thus the inefficient Parliamentary generals, Essex, Manchester, and Lord Fairfax, were dismissed. But Cromwell was excepted from the list of dismissals. Fairfax's son, Sir Thomas Fairfax, took command, with Cromwell as Lieutenant-General of his cavalry. Also Cromwell secured a new army, which was partly raised by compulsion, and consisted of paid and disciplined troops. Of this "New Model" Cromwell, with his genius for training and disciplining soldiers, made one of the most efficient armies ever known. With it he completely defeated the royalists.

In the year 1645 came the decisive battle of the war. Charles had decided to march north to join Montrose, who now had Scotland in his hands, but the royal army was met at Naseby, in Northamptonshire, by the new Parliamentary army. The royalists were outnumbered, and so completely defeated that the battle was decisive. Though a few isolated towns and forces remained to be crushed by Parliament, the royalist cause had become hopeless. In Scotland, too, Montrose had been defeated at Philiphaugh, and had escaped to the Continent. In the spring of 1646 the King, realising that the struggle was hopeless, escaped from Oxford and fled to the Scottish army at Newark, where he surrendered himself.

PARLIAMENT AND THE ARMY EXECUTION OF
CHARLES I

The war was over, but, like many wars, it had brought new problems to the victors. Parliament was in an awkward position. Its rule, which had been marked by much political corruption, was unpopular. It had to find some means of getting rid of the Scottish and English armies, whose help was no longer necessary. It was still trying to force Presbyterianism upon England. It had to find some means of deciding the fate of the King, who was by now far more popular than his conquerors. The Scottish problem was the one most easily dealt with, for, after a good deal of negotiation, the Scots agreed to sell the King to Parliament, and returned to their own country (1647).

To get rid of the English army proved less simple. It had won the war and was not inclined to disappear quietly, leaving the politicians to do as they pleased. So it appointed a Council of Agitators, consisting of two representatives from each regiment. Thus organised, it seized the King, whom Parliament had imprisoned at Holmby House, near Naseby, and took him to Hampton Court. Thence he escaped to the Isle of Wight, where he was imprisoned in Carisbrooke Castle. The leaders of the army, and especially Cromwell, intended to keep power in their own hands, and to resist the attempt of Parliament to force Presbyterianism upon England. Most of the soldiers wanted only to be paid, but, as Parliament would not give them their arrears of pay, they supported their leaders.

The quarrel of Parliament and Army provided Charles with an opportunity to make advantageous terms for himself. Cromwell and his son-in-law, Ireton, offered the King a treaty, called the "Heads of Proposals." By this, he was to be restored to power, though he was to promise religious toleration. If Charles had been wise, he would have accepted this offer, for the Army had both the power and the will to restore him. But he could not resist the temptation to play off one of his opponents against the other, and was secretly negotiating with the Scots and with Parliament. By a promise to establish Presbyterianism, he persuaded the Scots to invade England on his behalf, and royalist risings occurred in various parts of the country. In what is known as the "Second Civil War" these risings were crushed.



CHARLES I BEING LED TO EXECUTION

without much difficulty, while Cromwell won a great victory over the Scottish and royalist army at Preston (1648).

The Army was once more in command of the situation. It now felt that the King was not to be trusted, especially as he was still carrying on negotiations with Parliament. The Army leaders, more and more dominated by Cromwell, decided to get rid of him. They decided also to get rid of those members of Parliament who were unfriendly to them, that is, of the Presbyterian members. The King was again seized and taken to Hurst Castle, and Colonel Pride was sent to Westminster with a body of soldiers to expel the Presbyterians from Parliament. This event is known as "Pride's Purge." The small section of Parliament that remained, known as the "Rump," voted for the King's trial and execution.

Though Charles was tried by a court of a hundred members, presided over by Bradshaw, a lawyer, the decision was certain. After a week's trial, he was sentenced to death, having refused to plead before the court or to recognise its competence to try him. He was beheaded on January 30, 1649, and the country was left to a government which derived its power altogether from the Army.

FIRST CIVIL WAR

| England | | | | Scotland |
|-------------------------|---|--|--|---|
| Midlands and South-east | West | North | | |
| 1642 | August War began | King raised his standard at Nottingham | | |
| | Battle of <i>Edgehill</i> King v Essex (indecisive) | Royalist successes of Hopton | Newcastle (R) successful in Yorkshire | |
| 1643 | 1st Battle of <i>Newbury</i> King v Essex (indecisive) | Hopton's (R) victories over Waller (P) at <i>Stratton</i> , <i>Lansdown</i> , <i>Roundway Down</i> Capture of Bristol (R) | Battle of <i>Adwalton Moor</i> Newcastle (R) defeated Fairfax Cromwell secured Lincolnshire | |
| | The "Cessation" and the "Solemn League and Covenant" | | | |
| 1644 | Battle of <i>Crookedy Bridge</i> King defeated Waller | Battle of <i>Cheriton</i> Waller (P) defeated Hopton (R) | Battle of <i>Marston Moor</i> —North secured for Parliament | Montrose's (R) victories— <i>Tippermuir</i> , <i>Inverlochy</i> , etc |
| | 2nd Battle of <i>Newbury</i> King v Manchester (indecisive) | Surrender of Waller to King at <i>Lostwithiel</i> | | |
| 1645 | Self-Denying Ordinance and New Model Army | | | |
| | Battle of <i>Naseby</i> —decisive defeat of royalists | | | Battle of <i>Philiphaugh</i> Montrose (R), decisively defeated |
| | Naseby ended struggle in favour of P | | War became an | |
| 1646 | affair of suppressing isolated R forces and garrisons | | | |
| | March Surrender of Charles to Scots at Newark | | | |
| | R = Royalist | | P = Parliamentarian | |

R = Royalist P = Parliamentarian

CHAPTER XXVII

THE COMMONWEALTH AND THE PROTECTORATE

THE RUMP

The struggle between Charles I and Parliament had begun over a question of great constitutional and practical importance. This was whether the King and his ministers were to rule England despotically or whether Parliament, which represented the more prosperous part of the nation, was to have a voice in the government. But revolutions are apt to produce results not intended by those who begin them. During the war, power had passed into the hands of neither King nor Parliament, but into those of the New Model Army and its generals, who were able to crush all opposition by force.

So the execution of Charles left England actually under the Army though nominally under the rule of the Rump. The Rump was the remnant of the Long Parliament that remained after the disappearance of its royalist members and the exclusion of the Presbyterians by the Army in Pride's Purge. The Rump, which consisted of fifty members, certainly could not claim to represent the nation, and was very unpopular. But it managed to retain power for four years. During this time it abolished the monarchy and the House of Lords, and ruled through a Council of State which consisted almost entirely of its own members. The explanation is that no one of the generals of the Army was yet strong enough to make himself supreme.

The commander-in-chief of the Army, Sir Thomas Fairfax, was an honest and disinterested man, who had opposed the execution of the King and showed no wish for political supremacy. But his principal subordinates, Cromwell, Lambert, and Harrison, were more ambitious. Lambert was a selfish intriguer. Harrison was a religious fanatic, who wanted to make himself head of a "rule of saints," by which he meant Puritan extremists. Cromwell, with his mixture of military genius, political ability, and Puritan fanaticism, was a greater man than



CROMWELL REFUSING THE CROWN

either of these, but the Rump got rid of him by sending him to Ireland. There the royalists, led by Ormonde, had proclaimed Charles II and were negotiating for the help of the Irish Catholics who were still in rebellion against English rule.

CROMWELL IN IRELAND AND SCOTLAND

In Ireland Cromwell's indignation at the massacre of Protestants in Ulster, with which the Irish Catholics had begun their rebellion, led him to behave with cruelty and intolerance. His capture of Drogheda (1649) was followed by a wholesale massacre, which he afterwards excused on the ground that it was a necessary warning to other Irish cities to abandon their resistance. Actually, it inflamed Irish hostility, but, like the Elizabethans, the seventeenth century Puritans could imagine no better means of dealing with the Irish than extermination and settlement. The Rump had promised estates in Ireland to speculators who advanced money for the Irish campaign, and to provide these it was necessary to drive out the native Irish. Land was also granted to soldiers to whom arrears of pay were owing. This new settlement made the Irish Catholics more resentful of English rule and more completely under the influence of their Church. Also in many cases it put large Irish estates, peopled by Catholics, under the control of Protestant landlords who resided in England.

The Irish were not the only people hostile to the English government. The Scottish Presbyterians, angry at the failure to establish their religion in England, began negotiations with Charles II. Charles landed in Scotland (1650), and was proclaimed king in return for his acceptance of Presbyterianism. Cromwell was recalled from Ireland. On the retirement of Fairfax, who showed no inclination to fight against the Stuarts on behalf of the Rump, he became commander-in-chief of the Army. Invading Scotland, he defeated at Dunbar (1650) the Scottish general, Leslie, who had fought for Parliament at Marston Moor.

Though Cromwell was successful in Scotland, he failed to prevent the invasion of England by Charles II. Perhaps the failure was intentional. However, he knew that a Scottish invasion would be hated by the English and would lose many supporters for Charles. Royalist feeling was strong in England,

but few Englishmen joined the Scottish army, while many flocked to help Cromwell, who had marched south. He defeated the invaders in the Battle of Worcester (1651). Charles escaped but the royalist cause had again been crushed, and Cromwell, after this, had no more battles to fight.

Cromwell's successes had made him the most important man in England. The Rump felt that he was becoming dangerous to its authority, and decided to take the command of the Army from him. But the Army leaders had grown accustomed to the use of force, and had little respect left for the Rump. Cromwell had no intention of losing his command and, in April, 1653, he took his soldiers to the House. After a long speech and much personal abuse of the members, he drove them out, and declared Parliament dissolved. There was no resistance, for the Rump was unpopular. The nation was tired of war and of a constitutional struggle that seemed likely to end in nothing better than the establishment of a military despotism.

ANGLO-DUTCH RIVALRY THE FIRST DUTCH WAR

For various reasons, of which the most important was commercial rivalry, England, under the government of the Rump, had drifted into the First Dutch War (1652-4). The revolt of the Netherlands against Spain, which had occurred during Elizabeth's reign, had ended in the division of the Netherlands into two parts. The Catholic provinces of the south, roughly the equivalent of modern Belgium, remained under Spanish rule, and were known as the Spanish Netherlands. The Protestant northern provinces, comprising much the same area as modern Holland, became an independent republic, the United Provinces. In Elizabeth's day the Netherlands had turned to England for help in their revolt against Spain, but this help had been given secretly and grudgingly. James I's persistent attempts to obtain compensation for it had destroyed any gratitude to England that the Dutch might have felt. In spite of their common Protestantism, the two countries became each others' principal rivals and enemies.

The discovery, by Portuguese navigators, of the sea route to India round the Cape of Good Hope, had given Portugal a monopoly of trade with the Indian Ocean and the Spice Islands. But this Portuguese trade had fallen into the hands of Spain, and

passed through the ports of the Spanish Netherlands. When the Dutch gained their independence, Amsterdam was the most important of these ports, and a large share of eastern trade passed into the possession of the United Provinces. They now replaced Spain as the principal rival of England in the East Indies. The commercial rivalry was the cause of various quarrels between the two nations. Among the causes of disputes was the Dutch refusal to punish the officials responsible for the massacre of some Englishmen at the Dutch fort of Amboyna in the Spice Islands (1623). Other questions were North Sea fishery rights, the freedom of the seas, and the Dutch refusal to salute the English flag.

These disputes might not have led to war if the Rump, influenced by the English merchants who traded with the East Indies, had not passed a Navigation Act (1651) apparently designed to cripple the Dutch carrying trade. This Act forbade the importation into England of goods from Africa, Asia, or America, in any but English ships. European goods were to be imported either in English ships, or in those of the country to which the cargo belonged. This Act was not very effective, because of the scarcity of English ships, but it irritated the Dutch, and in 1652, when the Dutch admiral, Van Tromp, refused to strike his flag in the Straits to the English admiral, Blake, an indecisive battle was fought and war quickly followed.

Thanks to the ships built with the Ship Money levied by Charles I., the English Commonwealth had an efficient navy, and in Blake and Monk England had two leaders who proved as able on sea as on land. In 1652 Blake was defeated off Dungeness, but in the next year he defeated Van Tromp off Portland. Later in the year the English blockaded the Texel and, in an indecisive battle, the Dutch lost their great admiral, Van Tromp. The English had proved their naval superiority, and Cromwell, who had now driven out the Rump and taken the government into his own hands, was less commercially-minded than his predecessors, and did not wish to continue the war with a Protestant country. He made an advantageous peace by the Treaty of Westminster (1654), in which the Dutch conceded all that was demanded by England: the saluting of the English flag at sea, the exclusion of the Stuarts from the United Provinces, and the punishment of the Amboyna officials.



GEORGE MONK

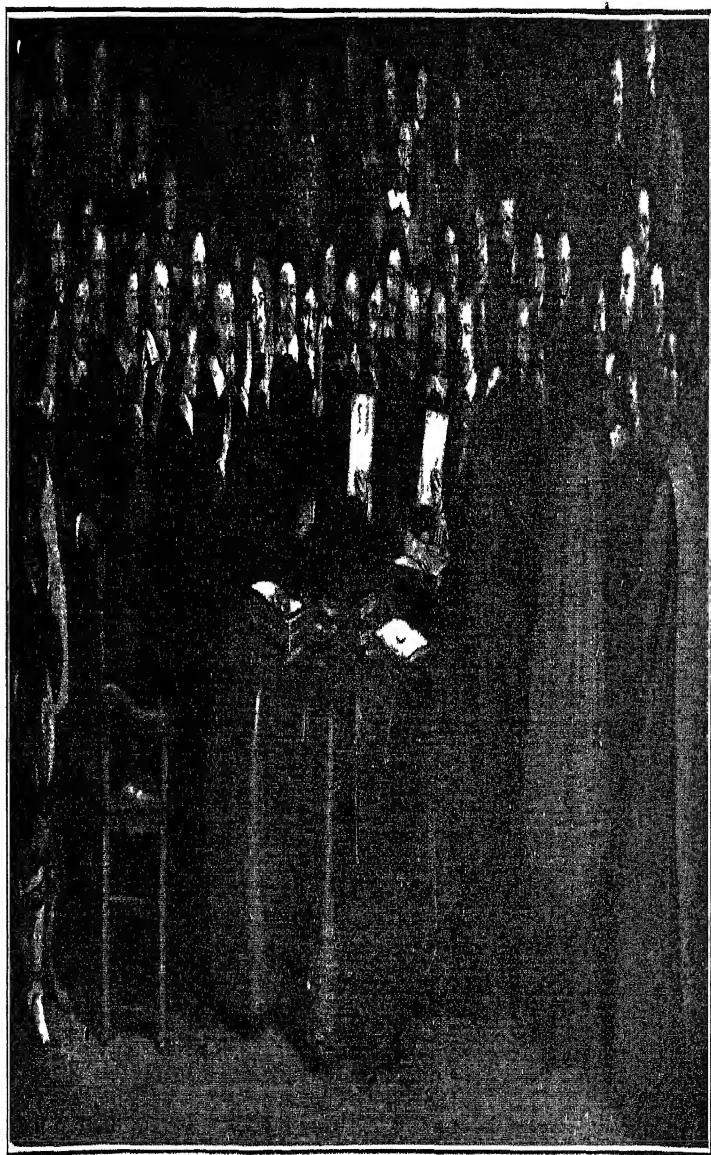
CROMWELL'S FOREIGN POLICY WAR WITH SPAIN

Cromwell thus secured a diplomatic triumph at the beginning of his government. He then embarked on an energetic foreign policy that made his military power respected and feared throughout Europe. But the expense of that policy burdened England financially, without gaining anything of much value except prestige. Cromwell admired the policy of Elizabeth and strove to imitate it, but he neither understood it clearly, nor

grasped the extent to which the situation in Europe had changed. He would have liked to become the champion of Protestantism—a position which Elizabeth had had at times thrust upon her—and after concluding peace with the Protestant Dutch, he made alliances with Sweden and Denmark. But he soon realised that nothing was to be effected by a foreign policy directed by religious motives, and that, to play an important part in Europe, he must enter into the struggles between its greatest powers, the Catholic countries of France and Spain.

The Thirty Years' War, that began with the efforts of James I's ambitious son-in-law, the Elector Frederick, to secure the Bohemian crown, had come to an end in the Peace of Westphalia (1648). But France and Spain remained at war with each other. Cromwell, who had an army for which to find employment, began to negotiate with both countries to discover from which he could obtain the more advantageous terms for his support. The excessive nature of his demands from Spain—the cession of Dunkirk, free trade for English merchants in the West Indies, and toleration for English Protestants in Spain—suggest that he leaned from the first towards a French alliance. France, under the able government of Cardinal Mazarin, proved quite ready to please him by expelling the Stuarts, and by persuading the Duke of Savoy to cease persecuting his Protestant subjects, the Waldensees. In imitation of Elizabeth, Cromwell sent a fleet, under Penn and Venables, to attack the Spaniards in the West Indies. After a failure to take San Domingo, Jamaica was captured (1656). This led to war with Spain and to the conclusion of an alliance with France.

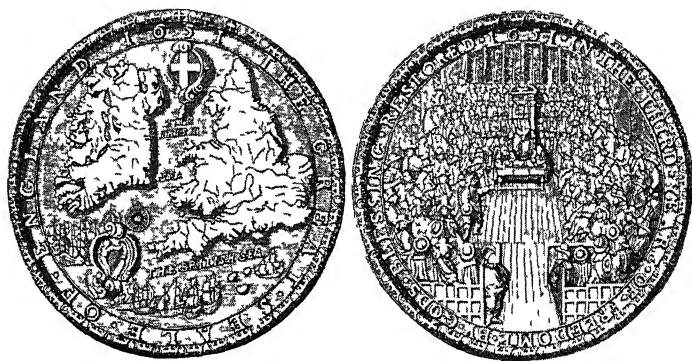
In the war with Spain England was very successful. In 1657 Blake captured the Spanish treasure fleet, and its silver was taken to London. In the next year another treasure fleet was destroyed at Santa Cruz, but, on returning to England, Blake died as his ship entered Plymouth. On land, Dunkirk was taken, for the Cromwellian army proved as invincible abroad as at home. But the treasure taken from Spain did not compensate for the expense of the war, and taxation made the nation discontented. Had Cromwell lived longer, his successes might have come to an end. As it was, whatever might be the ultimate wisdom of his policy, his death left English military and naval power respected and feared throughout Europe.



THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA, 1648.

CROMWELL AS RULER BAREBONES PARLIAMENT

The fall of the Rump left Cromwell as the real ruler of England, but Cromwell, though his power depended upon the support of the Army, did not himself approve of a military despotism. He was a man of complex character, at once a military genius and a Puritan fanatic. While his soldierly respect for order and discipline made him desire the establishment of a stable constitutional government, his religious fanaticism inclined him to believe that his own opinion and policy were directly inspired by God. Thus, though he had the belief in liberty and representative government expressed by the



THE GREAT SEAL OF THE COMMONWEALTH

opponents of Charles I, yet, in a crisis he always resorted to the use of force. Thus, the history of his Protectorate is that of the trial and failure of a series of constitutional experiments.

Cromwell's attempt at constitutional government failed because he had the support of only a minority. Most of the nation disliked the supremacy of the Army and its generals, and any really representative Parliament would probably have demanded a Stuart restoration. Cromwell never dared to grant representation to royalists or Catholics. Even among the Puritans, he was disliked by the Presbyterians, and could rely only on the support of Independents. The Independents were a disunited body of varied opinions. They wanted religious

freedom but were in many cases republican in their politics, and very critical of the Cromwellian system

Cromwell's troubles began with his first effort to call a Parliament. This assembly, known as "Barebone's Parliament" (1653), from the name of one of its members, represented no one except the Independents. Royalists were not offered representation and the Presbyterians showed their opposition by not accepting it. In the end the Parliament was chosen by the Army Council from a list of names supplied by Independent ministers throughout the country. When assembled, the Parliament proved full of excellent ideas for minor reforms, such as the establishment of civil marriage, and the abolition of the cumber-



CROMWELL'S GREAT SEAL FOR SCOTLAND

The reverse exhibits the Cross of Scotland surmounted by Cromwell's Paternal Arms (From Simon's Medals)

some and involved legal processes of Chancery. But it was unwilling to vote taxes and criticised and opposed Cromwell's government, so it was dissolved after sitting for only five months.

THE INSTRUMENT OF GOVERNMENT

It had never before been necessary to draw up a constitution for England, for the English system of government had developed gradually, growing and changing during hundreds of years. But, now that King and Parliament were gone a new government had to be devised, and the Army leaders drew up a constitution, embodied in the document known as the "Instrument of Government" (1653). In accordance with this new written

constitution Cromwell was appointed ruler for life with the title of "Protector," and was to be advised by a Council of twenty-two members. Parliament was to be summoned every three years and was to include representatives from England, Scotland, and Ireland. Redistribution of seats and a franchise based upon income were introduced to make representation fairer. But since votes were altogether denied to Roman Catholics, and to active royalists for the next four Parliaments, it was evident that the new Parliament would leave important sections of the nation quite unrepresented. The Protector was to receive a fixed revenue, so that he need ask Parliament to grant money only for unusual expenses and emergencies.

The establishment of a fixed revenue and of a united Parliament for England, Scotland, and Ireland were changes of importance. The absence of any attempt to make the whole nation accept the same form of religious worship was a distinct advance towards modern ideas of religious toleration. Cromwell was an Independent, and, so far as the Army had definite religious views, it was of the same persuasion. The Independents, or Congregationalists, believed that each congregation should settle its own religious affairs, and advocated religious toleration, or "liberty for tender consciences." But this liberty was only to be extended to the various Puritan sects, for even advanced people had as yet no idea of tolerating beliefs of which they actively disapproved. Under the Protectorate toleration was denied to Roman Catholics and High Churchmen, though the ban upon them was not always very rigidly enforced.

BREACH WITH PARLIAMENT THE NEW CONSTITUTION

Cromwell's parliamentary difficulties continued. He found it impossible to work with the first Protectorate Parliament (1654), which was more interested in theories of government than in the immediate business of the day. Its members were republican in their political ideas, criticised the new constitution, and objected to government "by a single person", that is, to the office of Protector. After trying to check their criticism, Cromwell dissolved Parliament as soon as the constitution permitted.

He was then faced by a series of plots and risings that showed how various and widespread was popular discontent. To deal with these, he adopted the drastic means of putting the whole country under martial law. England was divided into eleven districts, each under a Major-General (1655-6), who was to discover and crush plots, banish conspirators, and enforce law and order. This military government was expensive, but was paid for by a tax of 10% levied upon the estates of royalists—a measure that added to the unpopularity of Cromwell's rule. Amusements condemned by the Puritans, such as cock-fighting and bear-baiting, together with more innocent sports, were forbidden, and this irritated ordinary people. But the Army proved quite equal to the task of keeping order, and by the time the Major-Generals were withdrawn the country was quiet again.

When the Second Protectorate Parliament was summoned, the government was alert to prevent opposition, and one-third of its members were excluded by force. The remaining two-thirds were favourable to Cromwellian rule, and produced a new constitution, the "Humble Petition and Advice." In accordance with this Cromwell was to take the title of king, and Parliament was once more to consist of two Houses, and was to control its own elections.

Cromwell adopted the new constitution, though he refused the title of king, which was disliked by the Army. But the results of the change were unfortunate. Only two of the nobility would sit in the new Upper House, so Cromwell had to fill it with officers and squires. Many of these he chose from the number of his supporters in the Commons, which weakened his party there. The promise that Parliament should control its own elections made it impossible to continue the exclusion of hostile members. When Parliament met again (1658), the Commons were once more discontented with the government, and Cromwell, exasperated by their criticisms, dissolved the assembly after a fortnight.

MONK AND THE RESTORATION

Cromwell's death soon followed, and the country at once fell into disorder. His son, Richard, was made Protector in his place, but was soon forced by the Army to resign his office and to recall the Rump, which his father had expelled. But General



CROMWELL DISSOLVING THE LONG PARLIAMENT.

Lambert expelled the Rump again. Lambert intended to seize power for himself, but was prevented by General Monk, a professional soldier. Monk had distinguished himself with Cromwell in Scotland, and with Blake at sea. He now recalled the Long Parliament, while Lambert was imprisoned in the Tower.

Monk was blinded neither by personal ambition, nor by religious nor political prejudices. The country was tired of a military despotism, now threatening to turn into anarchy, so he had the support of most of the nation when he began to negotiate with the exiled Charles II. In the Declaration of Breda Charles promised that none of his, nor his father's opponents should be punished, except on the authority of Parliament, that religious toleration should be granted, that the Army should be paid, and that people should keep the property they had acquired. Meanwhile the Long Parliament had dissolved itself and a Convention was summoned which accepted the Declaration. Thus, mainly through the agency of Monk, the Stuarts were restored to the throne, and it remained to be seen which of the changes made by the struggle between King and Parliament would prove permanent.

CHAPTER XXVIII

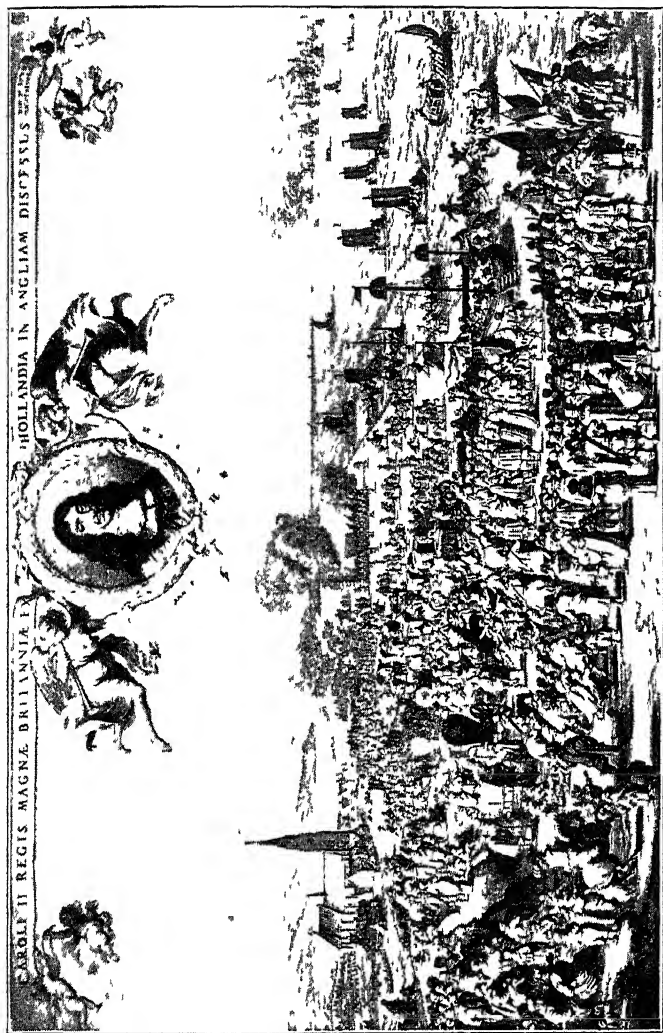
THE RESTORATION AND THE REIGN OF CHARLES II

CHARACTER AND POLICY OF CHARLES II

When Charles II returned to England he was received with enthusiasm. The corpses of Cromwell and one or two others were disinterred and hung up in chains at Tyburn. Many of those concerned in the trial and execution of Charles I were executed or imprisoned for life. Except in these cases the King made no attempt to punish his recent enemies. Nor did he reward or compensate royalists who had lost wealth or estates in his cause.

The country settled down quickly under its new government. Cavalier squires and magistrates recovered their authority, while Roundheads lost theirs. But the King did not regain all the old powers of the Crown, for the struggle with Parliament had had its effect. The Convention granted him a fixed revenue for life. Though this was not enough to make him independent of Parliament, Charles never dared to raise taxes on his own authority. Thus Parliamentary control over the raising of taxes had been virtually established. Nor were the Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission, nor the Councils of the North and Wales restored. The age of government by council was at an end.

The new King was not inclined to submit tamely to the limitation of royal power. He had spent his youth in France, and admired the absolute government of the French King. He would have liked to imitate it in England, but he was too clever openly to attempt to do so. Charles II was a man of political genius, with none of the narrow obstinacy that led the other Stuarts into disaster. His exile had taught him to value security highly, and he was too cynical and selfish to be devoted either to causes or to people. He sacrificed either his friends or his schemes when public opposition made it safer to do so. On the other hand, he could be very persistent if he saw any chance



THE EMBARKATION OF CHARLES II FOR ENGLAND IN 1660

of getting his own way. Before his death he had outwitted all his political opponents and strengthened his control of England. This had been possible partly because his indolence and devotion to pleasure blinded his subjects to his cleverness. He sometimes neglected business for the amusements of his gay, dissolute court, and during the first years of his reign left the government largely in the hands of his principal minister, Clarendon.

PARLIAMENT AND CONTROL OF FINANCE

Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, had been an opponent of Charles I in the days of the Long Parliament. He had joined the royalist party when the Puritans began to attack the Church and had been the friend and adviser of Charles II during his exile. Among the other statesmen of the Restoration period, most of whom, like the King, were clever, witty, pleasure-loving, and unprincipled, he was an incongruous figure. He was grave, dignified, and conscientious, honestly attempting to maintain the rights both of King and Parliament. Charles's first Parliament was elected while the country was still rejoicing over his return. It was at first so royalist in character that it was known as the "Cavalier Parliament" (1660-78). Soon the extravagance of Charles and his court, and the corruptness of government officials, made Parliament eager to gain more control over money matters.

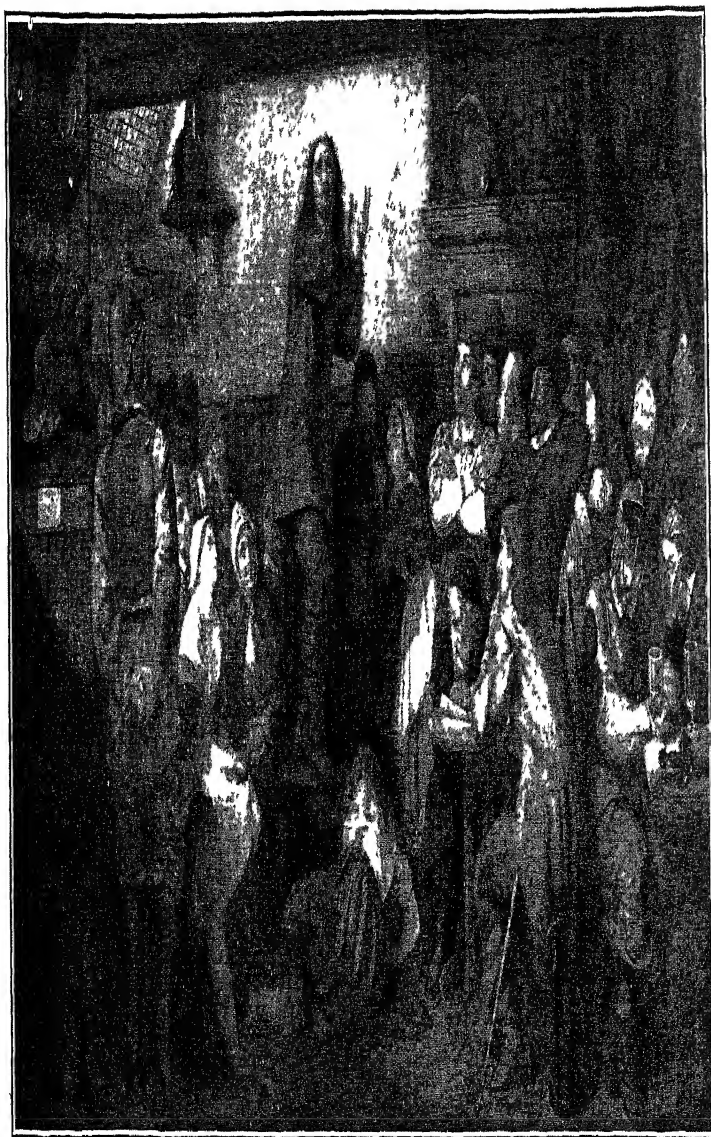
The Convention Parliament had granted Charles a fixed revenue, which was to come from an excise on beer and other articles. This excise was to take the place of the old feudal dues. The arrangement suited the landowners because the money came from the whole nation instead of from their estates. This fixed revenue was not enough for the ordinary expenses of government, and for extra taxes the King had to apply to Parliament. Frequently these taxes were spent on things very different from the objects of the grants. Therefore, when Parliament granted money for the Second Dutch War, it expressly stated that the money was to be spent on the war and not on something else. This condition, known as "appropriation of supply," shows that Parliament was beginning to control the spending as well as the raising of money. In 1667 an audit of the grant was demanded to make sure that it had not been misused.

THE CHURCH AFTER THE RESTORATION

The struggle to limit the King's power had partly succeeded, but the restoration settlement showed that Puritan attempts to alter or overthrow the Church of England had been in vain. Charles had promised toleration in the Declaration of Breda. He would have been willing to keep his promise, because, though he was sceptical and lukewarm in religious matters, he was himself inclined towards Roman Catholicism and favoured toleration for Catholics. But the Savoy Conference (1661) failed to make any religious settlement, and the matter was left to Parliament. The Cavalier Parliament was strongly royalist and anti-Puritan, and Clarendon, the King's chief minister, was a vigorous supporter of the Anglican Church. Parliament passed a series of Acts, known as the "Clarendon Code," which restored the authority of the Church and began a persecution of the Puritans.

The Clarendon Code consisted of four Acts of Parliament: the Corporation Act (1661), the Act of Uniformity (1662), the Conventicle Act (1664), and the Five Mile Act (1665). The Corporation Act was intended to prevent Puritans from becoming members of the corporations of towns. This cut them off from sharing in the local and political influence of these bodies, which often controlled elections. All members of such bodies were ordered to take communion in accordance with the rites of the Church of England, of which Puritans did not approve. The Act of Uniformity expelled from the Church clergy who did not accept and use the Anglican Prayer Book. The Conventicle Act tried to prevent Puritans from holding their own religious services by forbidding services in which the Prayer Book was not used. The Five Mile Act forbade clergymen and schoolmasters to come within five miles of a corporate town, unless they would swear to attempt no alteration in Church or State.

These Acts began the division of English Protestants into Churchmen and Dissenters. Clergymen of Puritan beliefs were to be prosecuted and denied the exercise of their religion. This caused the Presbyterians, who were the great body of moderate Puritans, to return to the Church, unwilling to face persecution or the loss of office. The more extreme Puritans, the Independents, or Sectaries, held out. Puritanism, or Dissent, became associated with the middle and lower classes. The upper classes were mostly identified with the Church, or were indifferent.



Victoria and Albert Museum

GEORGE FOX PREACHING IN A TAVERN. Painting by E H Wehuert

THE FALL OF CLARENDON

The end of the first period of Charles II's reign was marked by the fall of Clarendon. His foreign policy (pp 163-165) was unpopular, and he was unjustly blamed for the mismanagement of the Second Dutch war. The King disliked his religious policy and was weary of his control, so he abandoned his minister to the attacks of Parliament. Clarendon had to flee abroad to escape impeachment. He spent his last years in exile, during which he wrote a history of the civil war, remarkable for its shrewd judgment and moderation.

THE CABAL CHARLES'S INTRIGUES WITH FRANCE

After the fall of Clarendon, Charles II himself began to take more interest in the government of his country. His principal advisers were now a committee of five ministers, officially known as the "Committee for Foreign Affairs," but popularly nicknamed the Cabal. These men, Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley Cooper, and Lauderdale, differed in religion and policy. All were clever, unscrupulous, and devoted to their own interests. They were, in fact, typical statesmen of the Restoration period.

Charles II, in spite of his indolence, resented the limitations placed upon his power. His life in France had taught him to admire the despotic French monarchy, and he constantly played with the idea of making himself absolute in England with French help (pp 165-166). He found means of raising money without the help of Parliament by playing upon French fears of English opposition to the designs of Louis XIV in Europe, and selling his friendship to the French king. This policy lacked nobility, but Charles's cynicism made him ready to use whatever means would enable him to outwit his opponents and gain his desired ends. His course became one of continual political intrigues at home and abroad. He trusted, or deceived his minister as suited him best, and they in turn, intrigued for and against him, and accepted French bribes. They displayed all the shifty cleverness of an age in which political morality had ceased even to be admired.

ANTI-CATHOLIC FEELING

Unfortunately, many innocent people had to suffer for the political intrigues of their rulers. The Restoration was followed by a persecution of the Puritan opponents of the government. This was followed in turn by a terrible outburst of popular hostility against Catholics, encouraged by the King's opponents for their own purposes. Charles, for a mixture of reasons, was inclined to favour Roman Catholicism. He had had a Catholic mother, and had spent much of his youth in a Catholic country. It is probable that, so far as he had any interest in religion, he himself preferred the Catholic faith. He certainly believed that, because of its respect for authority, it was the faith that taught people most readily to submit to the rule of a powerful monarch. He determined, with the promise of French support, to offer toleration to Catholics in England, and to declare his own acceptance of the Catholic religion.

In the Clarendon Code, Parliament had shown that no measure of toleration could be expected from it. Charles therefore decided to use his own authority, and issued a Declaration of Indulgence. This suspended the penal laws against Catholic recusants and Puritan dissenters, though Catholics were still forbidden to meet for religious worship. This very moderate grant of toleration roused tremendous opposition. Catholics were associated, in the popular mind, with the Spanish Inquisition, the plots of Elizabeth's reign and the terrible Gunpowder Plot. In the reign of Charles II, popular opinion had already blamed them for the Great Fire of London (1666), which destroyed the city a year after the Great Plague (1665). Such was the fear and detestation of Catholics that the Dissenters were willing to endure persecution themselves, rather than accept a measure of toleration in which Romanists were included. Parliament challenged the King's right to suspend the working of its Acts, and Charles, too cautious to brave the opposition he had aroused, gave way and withdrew his Declaration. But the Commons were not content with this. They now passed the Test Act (1673), which ordered all office-holders to take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, and to take communion in accordance with the rites of the Church of England.



THE GREAT FIRE OF LONDON.

Gooch

DANBY'S MINISTRY "THE POPIISH PLOT"

The Test Act brought the ministry of the Cabal to an end, for two of its members, Clifford and Arlington, were Catholics. But it was chiefly intended as an attack on the King's brother and heir, James, Duke of York, who had recently been received into the Catholic faith. One member of the Cabal, Shaftesbury (Ashley Cooper) had bitterly resented the French intrigues Charles had carried on without his knowledge. He now became a vigorous leader of the opposition to the King.

Charles took for his principal adviser Sir Thomas Osborne, whom he created Earl of Danby, and whose policy was to uphold the Church and the Clarendon Code. Danby managed Parliament by bribery, buying the votes of the members with grants of pensions and offices. In this way he built up a considerable "Court party" that would support the King's policy, just as Shaftesbury's followers, the "Country party" opposed it. Danby's difficulties were great. He himself wished to work in agreement with Parliament, but he could not persuade the King to adopt such a policy, and in the end lost the confidence of both King and Commons. He was saved from impeachment for his share in obtaining money from France only by the dissolution of the Cavalier Parliament (1678), which had then sat for eighteen years.

Not long before the dissolution of the Cavalier Parliament the influence of Shaftesbury and the opposition was increased by a fresh outburst of popular feeling against Catholics. This was the work of an informer, Titus Oates, who professed to have discovered a plot of the English Jesuits to murder the King and to establish Roman Catholicism in England with French help. The masses believed in the plot, just as they had believed the Catholics responsible for the burning of London. There was a terrible panic throughout the country increased by the murder of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey, a London magistrate to whom Oates had made his revelations. Some correspondence of the Duke of York's secretary with the Pope and the French was discovered. There followed a long series of trials and executions of people supposed to be connected with the plot. A reign of terror occurred, during which Catholics and their supporters went in fear of attack by angry mobs. One of the most unpleasant features of the Popish Plot scare was the utter

unscrupulousness shown by the King and the statesmen of the day Charles made no attempt to save the Catholics, whom he knew to be innocent, and his supporters avoided popular fury by pretending to believe in the plot Shaftesbury and the opposition deliberately inflamed popular feeling against Catholics in order to strengthen themselves in their struggle against the King

THE EXCLUSION BILL "WHIGS" AND "TORIES"

Shaftesbury believed in Parliamentary government, and he also loved power for its own sake He realised that neither Charles II nor his brother and heir, James, Duke of York, would submit to the predominance either of himself or of Parliament He therefore took advantage of the panic created by the Popish plot to bring forward a plan for the exclusion of the Duke of York from the succession in favour of the King's illegitimate son, the Protestant Duke of Monmouth The plan had a great deal of popular support, and Shaftesbury and the Country party easily obtained a majority in the House of Commons The strife over "exclusion" at the general elections gained for the two political parties the names by which they were afterwards known The Country party were nicknamed "Whigs" after the Scottish Covenanters, and the Court party "Tories" after the Irish Catholics So bitterly opposed were the two parties that civil war seemed not unlikely

Charles II had no intention either of driving the opposition into civil war, or of permitting the exclusion of his brother from the throne He saw that the anti-Catholic panic in the country was dying down, and with great political skill he began to play for time Without resorting to war the opposition—that is, Shaftesbury and the Whig party—could work only through Parliament Charles played upon their hope of passing the Exclusion Bill by calling and dismissing three Parliaments In the second of these (1680), the Bill was actually passed by the Commons, but thrown out by the Lords In rejecting it the Lords were influenced by the Earl of Halifax, who belonged to neither political party, but called himself a "Trimmer"

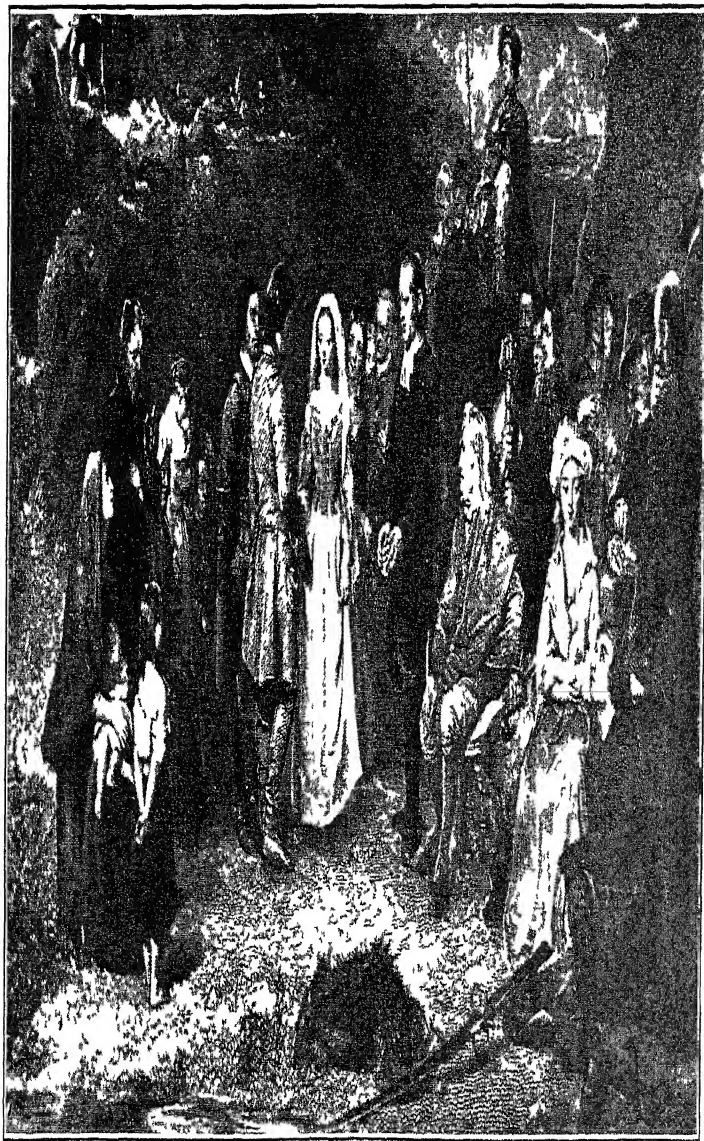
The third of these Parliaments was summoned to meet at Oxford (1681), so that it should not have the support of the London mob The situation was dangerous, for the Whig

leaders were ready for war, but Charles realised that popular enthusiasm for exclusion was dying. He gained the support of moderate people by offering a compromise by which James was to become king, but the government was to be left in the hands of his Protestant daughter, Mary, and her husband, William of Orange. The Whigs had already lost many supporters, by upholding the claims of Monmouth to the throne instead of those of James's daughter Mary. Now, by rejecting the King's offer they lost popular sympathy altogether. Charles took advantage of their error by immediately dissolving Parliament, so that they could no longer act in the name of that body. If they made war on him they could only do so as rebels and traitors. Actually, they made no attempt at armed resistance, and Charles never risked the summoning of another Parliament. He bargained with the French King for money, and so ruled during the rest of his reign by his own authority.

The Whig leaders were completely routed. The trial of Shaftesbury for conspiracy failed, but he fled abroad and died in exile. In 1683 a Whig plot to kill the King and the Duke of York, the Rye House Plot, provided an excuse for the execution of other important Whigs. The Dissenters, who were firm supporters of the Whig party, were persecuted, and the charters of boroughs were re-modelled. By this re-modelling of charters the corporations, who controlled Parliamentary elections, were packed with Tories. At last Stuart absolutism seemed to be almost secured, and the way paved for the peaceful accession of the Catholic Duke of York.

SCOTLAND AFTER THE RESTORATION

In Scotland and Ireland, as in England, the Stuart restoration meant that the system of government established during the Commonwealth period disappeared. The Parliamentary union with England came to an end, together with free trade between the three countries. But while Ireland lost the advantages bestowed by Cromwell, there was no effective remedy of the injustice and suffering caused by the Cromwellian land settlement. Some royalists got back their estates, but the conflicting claims of English speculators, Commonwealth soldiers, and original holders of land, were too complicated for any measure to do justice to all parties.



A COVENANTERS MARRIAGE

Rischii

In Scotland an "Act Recissory" (1661) undid the work of the Commonwealth. As in England, the bishops were restored. Presbyterian ministers were ejected from their livings and persecuted, though John Maitland, Duke of Lauderdale, who ruled Scotland for Charles, had formerly been himself a Presbyterian. The Presbyterian leader, the Duke of Argyle, was executed, and it was made clear that the government intended to crush Presbyterianism altogether. In this policy it had more success than had attended the efforts of Charles I. and Laud, for there was no national rising. Nevertheless, the whole country was plunged into disorder. The Presbyterians were known as "Covenanters" from the National Covenant of 1633, in which Scotland had sworn to uphold the Presbyterian faith. They held their services in lonely places in the open air, and attempts to break up such meetings often resulted in fighting. It was soon obvious that persecution could not destroy the Scottish national Church.

The obstinate resistance of the Covenanters led Lauderdale to offer them toleration in the "Black Indulgence" (1669), but the measure failed and was withdrawn. Atrocities followed on both sides. In 1679 Archbishop Sharpe, the Primate of Scotland, was murdered, and the Covenanters rose in arms and defeated the royalists troops at Drumclog (1679). Charles sent the Duke of Monmouth to Scotland, and the rebels were defeated at Bothwell Brig (1679). The Duke of York was then sent to carry on the work of repression, and the persecution of Presbyterians continued until the end of the reign.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE BEGINNING OF ENGLISH COLONISATION

EARLY EXPLORATION

In the fifteenth century, the Turks stopped the flow of trade between Europe and Asia along the old caravan routes. This caused the search for new ways to the East that resulted in the discovery of America and of the sea-route to India round the Cape of Good Hope. Spain and Portugal first undertook the work of exploration and settlement and built up empires for themselves. Portugal established control of the trade of the Indian Ocean, by which the products of India and the Spice Islands now reached Europe. Spain acquired an empire across the Atlantic that included Peru, Mexico, and many of the West Indian islands. These Portuguese and Spanish empires were rapidly built up by a comparatively small number of adventurers, whose courage, endurance, and determination have never been surpassed. They brought to their respective countries immense wealth which was the envy of the rest of western Europe.

Faced by the magnificent achievement of Spain and Portugal, the other European countries seemed hopelessly behind in the race to exploit and divide the New World. England and France being on the Atlantic, were favourably situated on the new trade routes. But, at the time when the great discoveries were being made, England was weak, and both countries were occupied with home affairs.

Yet English traders had learnt, in the days of the Merchant Adventurers, to seek out and fight for distant markets for their goods, and during the religious quarrels of the sixteenth century a host of Channel rovers appeared. They preyed upon Spanish shipping on its way to the ports of the Netherlands, and raised English ships and seamanship to a high standard of efficiency. From these sources came the sea-rovers of the Elizabethan period, who attacked the Spanish colonies and plundered Spanish shipping. Finally, by the defeat of the Armada, they destroyed the legend of Spanish supremacy at sea, and made impossible the attempt of Spain to exclude other nations from America.

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

The Elizabethans paved the way for the American colonisation of the Stuart period. But their own attempts to plant colonies made by Sir Humphrey Gilbert in Newfoundland and by Sir Walter Raleigh in Virginia were a failure. They also made expeditions to the Indian Ocean, and in 1600 the merchants who hoped to establish trading stations in this region united to form the East India Company. They obtained by charter from the Crown, a monopoly of English trade.

A monopoly such as this to modern ideas may seem unfair, but merchants trading in distant regions had to maintain their trading stations, make arrangements for permission to trade, and defend themselves and their goods against attack. They had some right to demand that others should not reap the benefit of their risk and expense. So long as foreign trade had to protect and organise itself, with little help from the home government, the chartered company remained a justifiable and valuable means of protecting markets and of establishing new colonies.

The East India Company did not at first intend to trade with India itself, but more particularly with the Spice Islands. Portuguese supremacy in the Indian Ocean had come to an end and the Dutch were the principal commercial rivals of England during the Stuart period. The Dutch intended to keep the valuable trade of the Spice Islands for themselves, and they secured and held the best ports and trading areas. This caused much soreness among the English merchants, and bitter hatred towards the Dutch. By forcing England to seek trading stations on the mainland of India, it helped to bring about the foundation of the Indian Empire.

Most of India was at this time under the rule of Mohammedan conquerors, the Moghul emperors. Both Portuguese and Dutch trading stations existed at various points along the coast, and in 1612 the English obtained the Emperor's permission to establish themselves at Surat. In 1639 they built Fort St. George on the Coromandel Coast, around which developed the town of Madras. In 1661, by marriage with a Portuguese princess, Charles II obtained Bombay, which he leased to the East India Company, and which was the first possession of the English Crown in India.

Thus, during the Stuart period, the English obtained a footing along the coast of India and a share of its trade. In 1664 a formidable rival appeared, for the French East India Company was founded. The struggle between France and England for supremacy in India did not take place until the next century.

COLONISATION OF VIRGINIA

While the East India Company was establishing its trading stations along the Indian coast, Englishmen were also engaged in planting colonies along the east coast of North America. As the rest of Europe, they considered the sugar plantations of the West Indies and the silver mines of Mexico and Peru the most valuable parts of the New World. But these had already been secured by Spain, so the English were forced to establish themselves to the north of the Spanish colonies.

The task of planting the early colonies was a difficult one. The colonists themselves had to be carefully chosen, for, cut off from England by the Atlantic, they depended mainly upon themselves to obtain a living on the edge of an unexplored continent. The planting of the later colonies was an easier business, because the experience of the earlier colonists was a valuable guide to success.

The colonisation of Virginia, the first English colony in North America, illustrates the important part played by the desire for trade in the expansion of England. The colony was the scheme of some capitalists in London, the London Company, who obtained a charter from the King for the formation of a colony in America. The company found the necessary money for the venture, and its aim was to secure a return for its capital. The colonists were to unite in growing or making such things as they required. All surplus products were to be sent to England to be sold for the profit, not of the Virginians, but of the London shareholders.

The venture nearly failed. The colonists were unwisely chosen, being adventurers tired of home-keeping, and not likely to take kindly to the hard work of pioneers. Success was mainly due to the presence of Captain John Smith, a soldier of fortune, who had fought in various parts of Europe. He showed the courage and resource needed to bring the new colony through difficulties that at first threatened to wreck it.

The development of Virginia, which was "planted" in 1606, was rapid. The colonists soon found that tobacco was their most profitable crop, and the employment of negroes in the tobacco plantations led to the institution of slavery. The Virginians became prosperous and independent, outgrowing the control of the capitalists who had founded the colony, and also of the despotic government attempted by a council of royal nominees. By 1619 the colonists in each district were sending representatives to a general assembly that made law for the colony. Five years later the London Company lost its political



EMBARKATION OF THE PILGRIM FATHERS

Gooch

authority, and Virginia became a royal province. The King appointed the governor of the colony and his council, but the colonists retained their legislative assembly and a large measure of self-government.

PURITAN AND CATHOLIC SETTLEMENTS LATER COLONIES

The foundation of Virginia had been a commercial venture, but the New England states were religious in origin. They were founded by Puritans, who left England to escape the repressive measures directed against Puritanism. The first body of these

Puritan emigrants sailed in the famous *Mayflower* (1620) They established a small settlement, which they named Plymouth, and governed democratically In 1629 a larger Puritan colony, Massachusetts, was founded, and Plymouth became a part of it The diligent, independent Puritans made excellent colonists, and their settlement grew and prospered But they were ruled almost entirely by their clergy, who were intolerant, and would endure no religious opposition Persecution drove those of independent religious views to leave Massachusetts and found new settlements In 1636 Thomas Hooker founded Connecticut In 1637 Rhode Island colony was begun by Roger Williams In 1638 John Wheelwright established the settlement at Exeter that later grew into New Hampshire In spite of some variation in their beliefs all these New England colonies were Puritan, dominated by the clergy, and democratic in their political ideas They resisted from the first the attempts of the English Government to uphold its authority over them

While the Puritans were founding their colonies, an attempt was made to provide a refuge for Catholics in America This was Maryland, founded, to the north of Virginia, by Cecil Calvert, Lord Baltimore A charter was granted by Charles I making Lord Baltimore "proprietor" of the colony Maryland flourished and, like Virginia, had tobacco for its chief product Unlike the Puritan states, this Catholic settlement was tolerant in religion, and in 1649 its legislative assembly passed an Act which granted religious toleration to all Christians

The civil war in England checked the founding of colonies, but the process soon began again after the Restoration In 1663, Charles II granted the land to the south of Virginia to eight "proprietors," who established the colony of Carolina This colony had a scattered population dependent chiefly on the products obtained from the forests of the region In 1670 a new settlement, South Carolina, was made, with its centre at Charleston, around which rice and indigo were produced

While England was establishing colonies in America, the Dutch were doing the same thing Their settlements, the New Netherlands, separated the New England colonies from Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas The second Dutch war brought about the capture of the Dutch settlements by England (1664) Charles II made his brother, James, Duke of York, the "proprietor" of these colonies The Dutch settlement of

New Amsterdam was renamed New York, and the New Netherlands were divided into the colonies of New York, New Jersey, and Delaware

Some years later (1682) William Penn, a Quaker, obtained from Charles II a grant of land in America in repayment of a debt, and established the colony of Pennsylvania. England now had a continuous line of settlements along the American coast. During the second half of the seventeenth century, the French were establishing themselves in Canada and Louisiana. This prepared the way for the eighteenth century struggle between England and France for the mastery of North America.

THE WEST INDIES THE AFRICAN COMPANY

During the seventeenth century the English not only established themselves on the American mainland but, in spite of Spanish opposition, obtained a footing in the West Indies. The valuable trade and the sugar plantations of these islands made them seem to contemporary Europe more desirable possessions than colonies on the mainland. Most of the trade of the American colonies was with the West Indies. In 1624 the English occupied Barbadoes. They next seized various islands in the Windward and Leeward groups, and settled the Bermudas and Bahamas. The most valuable acquisition of all was Cromwell's conquest of Jamaica, taken from Spain (1655).

The sugar plantations of the West Indies were worked partly by negro slaves and partly by imported white labour, and it became usual to sentence criminals, and especially political offenders, to exile in the plantations. The attempt to take the slave trade with the West Indies from the Dutch led England to establish her first trading posts in Africa. In 1662, the African Company was granted by charter a monopoly of the English slave trade along the west African coast.

TRADE REGULATIONS AND GOVERNMENT OF COLONIES

In the seventeenth century, Englishmen emigrated to the American colonies for various reasons. The Puritans and Catholics went there to escape religious persecution. Many labourers left England through unemployment and because, in

the colonies, land could be obtained easily. If they overcame the hardships of life as pioneers, they could hope to become independent farmers.

The English Government regarded colonies as a source of raw material and as a market for English goods, and tried to regulate colonial trade accordingly. The first Navigation Act (1651) forbade the imports of goods from Asia, Africa or America to England in any but English ships. This provision hampered colonial trade, because there were not enough English ships to deal with it. The second Navigation Act (1660) forbade the colonists to sell certain of their products to any country but England, or to import any but English goods. The King claimed customs dues from the colonies, but a great deal of smuggling took place.

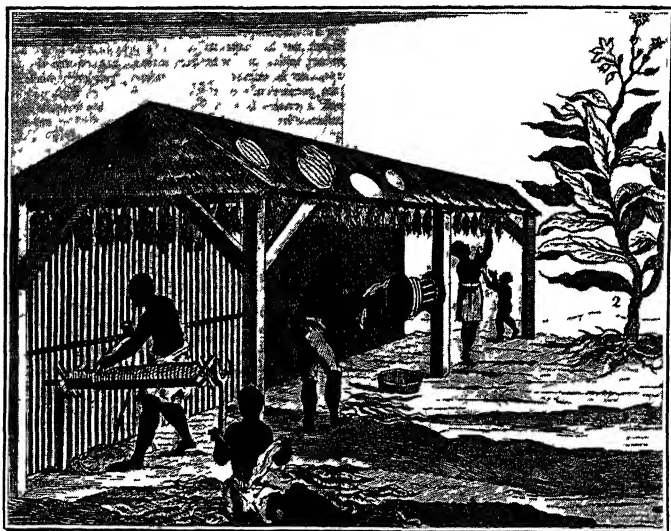
The government of a colony was based upon the royal charter that had granted permission for its foundation. Any colonial law contrary to the provisions of the charter was invalid. Each colony had a governor, chosen in most cases either by the King or the proprietor of the colony, though in Connecticut and Rhode Island he was chosen by the colonists themselves. The Governor appointed the judges. Laws were passed, as in England, by an assembly, which consisted of two houses. The members of the upper house were chosen by the colonial governor, and those of the lower house were elected by the colonists. Like England, each colony was divided into shires, which had their own officers. In New England these divisions were less important than the towns, and local government was chiefly carried on in the town-meeting, a type of assembly that pleased the democratic Puritan spirit.

COLONIAL LIFE AND PRODUCTS

Life in the colonies was hard and primitive, especially at first. Left upon the coast of an unexplored continent with only such supplies as they had been able to bring across the Atlantic, the colonists had to build their towns and houses and clear land for farms. Outside the towns and farms or plantations, the country remained wild and untouched. There were few roads, and such as did exist were very bad. Except by sea, one colony could not communicate easily and freely with another, which tended to make each develop on its own lines. Difference in

situation and products also played a part in making the colonies and their people unlike one another

Money was scarce The colonists carried on much of their trade with each other by barter, until they began to use paper money Most of their produce was exported to the West Indies timber and fish being the most important commodities of this West Indian trade The things produced in various parts of America differed greatly, as did the climate and the life of the people The forests provided timber, and trapping was done



SLAVES ON A TOBACCO PLANTATION

British Museum

The New Englanders, with their temperate climate and independent habits, were small farmers In the colonies to the south of them, which had been taken from the Dutch, large estates continued to exist, owned by wealthy landowners, who kept the Dutch title of "patroon" Still further south, climate and soil fitted Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas for the production of tobacco, rice, and cotton These were grown in large plantations Thus the southern colonists became slave-owners, and this had an important effect on the later course of American history

CHAPTER XXX

LOUIS XIV AND THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION

POSITION AND CHARACTER OF LOUIS XIV

The second half of the seventeenth century is, in the history of western Europe, the "age of Louis XIV." The Thirty Years' War of the first half of the century left Germany devastated and the authority of its nominal head, the Holy Roman Emperor, weaker than ever. Spain was declining, and England was engaged in the struggle between King and Parliament. France was steadily growing more powerful. The disunity caused by her religious wars was ended. During the reign of Louis XIII and the minority of his successor, Louis XIV, two great ministers, Richelieu and Mazarin, finished the work of crushing the French nobility, stamped out local independence, and made the French monarchy absolute. So Louis XIV had the resources of the most powerful European nation completely under his control, and was able to make his ambitions the most important factor in European politics. England and the other nations of Europe, whether they opposed France or supported her, were obliged to base their policy upon hers.

Louis XIV had been trained in the belief that kings were the representatives of God on earth. This was the same theory of "divine right" held by the Stuart kings of England. Louis had, therefore, absolute faith in his right to rule his people in accordance with his own will. To him, nations were at the disposal of their kings, and European politics were a struggle in which the various reigning families and their ministers strove with each other for provinces and kingdoms.

At this game Louis was certainly clever. His skilful diplomacy impressed the statesmen of the day, and his power and success dazzled them. His wars may seem to us an unjustifiable waste of the resources of his own and other countries, but his contemporaries, even his enemies, regarded him as a very great king. He seemed fitted by nature for his exalted position,



LOUIS XIV ROI DE FRANCE D'APRES P DE LA HAYE

for he was handsome and dignified His manners were courteous, but a little aloof, as if he felt himself different from other men

LOUIS XIV'S RELATIONS WITH SPAIN AND ENGLAND

The mainspring of Louis XIV's policy was his rivalry with the Hapsburg family, and his determination to bring some of

their vast territories under French control Both Spain and the Holy Roman Empire had Hapsburg rulers In Spain the family had degenerated so greatly that its last representative, Charles II, was a disease-ridden invalid of small mental capacity Charles of Spain came to the throne while yet an infant, and so many were the diseases from which he suffered that every year of his long reign (1665-1700) was expected to be his last

The Spanish Empire was a large one It included Spain, the dominions in the New World, the Spanish Netherlands, and parts of Italy Louis XIV intended to take the Spanish Netherlands whether Charles of Spain lived or died, and he invented some ingenious legal theories, so that he might claim them by right of his wife, a Spanish princess Moreover, he did not intend the Spanish possessions to pass, on the death of the sickly Charles II, to the Austrian branch of the Hapsburgs, who ruled the Empire, The wars and negotiations of his reign were designed either to secure some Spanish province, or to divide up the Spanish inheritance to the advantage of France

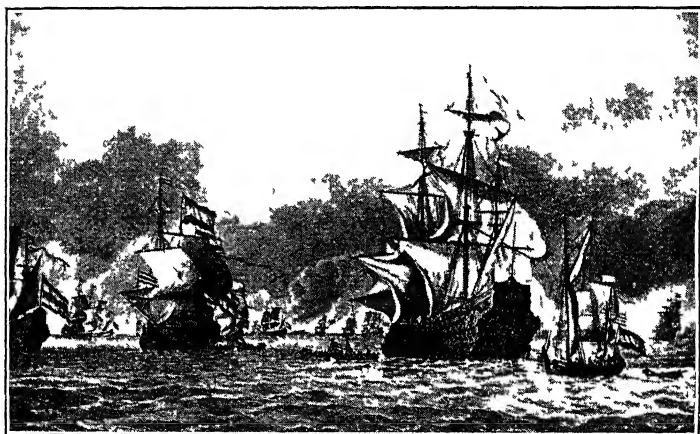
When Charles II was restored to the English throne (1660), Louis XIV was already embarked on his schemes for obtaining Franche-Comté and the Spanish Netherlands He was eager to secure the friendship of European states so that they should not oppose his plans Therefore he encouraged the desire of the English minister, Clarendon, for a French alliance This was cemented by the marriage of Charles II's sister, Henrietta Maria, to the Duke of Orleans, the brother of Louis XIV (1661) Charles himself married a Portuguese princess, Catherine of Braganza, whose family owed their throne partly to French support The alliance enabled Louis to buy from England the town of Dunkirk, which had been taken from Spain by Cromwell The value of Dunkirk to England did not repay the cost of its maintenance, but its sale was unpopular and helped to cause Clarendon's fall

ANGLO-DUTCH RIVALRY

The French alliance was not particularly popular, but Englishmen were, at the moment, principally interested in their commercial rivalry with the Dutch The Dutch were angry at the English attempt to interfere with their carrying trade by the Second Navigation Act (1660) Also the two nations were continually quarrelling over settlements and markets in the East

Indies, on the west coast of Africa, and in America When, in 1664, the English seized the New Netherlands, the Dutch colonies in America, war broke out (1665)

In 1665, James, Duke of York, defeated the Dutch in Southwold Bay In 1666 an indecisive battle was fought off the North Foreland Later in the year, Monk and Prince Rupert defeated the celebrated Dutch admiral, De Ruyter By harrying Dutch merchant ships, the English made the Dutch eager for peace, but on the whole the conduct of the war by England was slack Parliament would not vote supplies to make the navy



THE DUTCH IN THE MEDWAY JUNE 1667

Gooch

efficient, and in 1667 De Ruyter was able to sail up the Thames and burn a number of English ships in the Medway This was a great blow to English naval prestige, and in the Peace of Breda (1667) it was agreed that each country should keep what it had conquered This meant that England was able to retain the Dutch colonies in America

So far, both England and the United Provinces had been more interested in their commercial rivalry than in the policy of France But when Louis XIV, by taking several Flemish towns from Spain, made evident his intention to conquer the Spanish Netherlands, the Dutch began to fear for their own independence England, like the rest of Europe, began to feel that France was

growing far too powerful. The English ambassador to the United Provinces, Sir William Temple, held this opinion strongly, and the Cabal ministry, which had taken over the direction of English affairs after the fall of Clarendon, shared his views. There was an abrupt change in English foreign policy. Friendship with France was abandoned, and a Triple Alliance (1668) was arranged between England, the United Provinces, and Sweden, its aim being to protect the Netherlands from Louis XIV.

CHARLES II's FOREIGN POLICY WILLIAM OF ORANGE

Charles II did not share the attitude of his ministers towards France. Charles's aim was to increase his own power in England. His foreign policy was designed to attain this end, and he regarded his cousin Louis simply as a source of money and support to be used in making himself independent of Parliament. He probably consented to the Triple Alliance merely to convince the French King of the danger of English hostility, and so obtain better terms from him. Louis was already contemplating a war with the Dutch and was ready to give a good price for English support. In 1670 England abandoned the Triple Alliance policy, and concluded the Treaty of Dover with France. By this Treaty it was arranged that France and England should make war on the United Provinces, France paying subsidies for English help. In addition, Charles negotiated a secret treaty with France, receiving promises of the support of French money and troops to put down any resistance that might occur in England, if he should openly declare himself a Catholic. This treaty was known to only two of the Cabal.

The Treaty of Dover led to the Third Dutch War (1672-1674). The French invaded the United Provinces, and England attacked the Dutch navy. In England the war was unpopular, partly because it was paid for with money raised to support the Triple Alliance. The nation felt that it had been tricked. Indignation aroused by Charles's Declaration of Indulgence (1672) showed him that his policy of supporting Catholicism could not be carried out. The Test Act broke up the Cabal ministry and the King permitted his new minister, Danby, to make peace with the Dutch in the Treaty of Westminster (1674).

The war between France and the United Provinces continued till the Peace of Nymegen (1678). But the Dutch had found a leader, William of Orange, who was to become the most formidable opponent of Louis XIV. William was a remarkable man, though not an attractive one. Devoted to the cause of Dutch independence, he built up one European coalition after another against France. Though hampered by ill-health and constantly defeated in battle, he finally succeeded in saving the independence of his country.

After making peace with the Dutch, Charles II entered into no further hostilities against them. He even agreed to the marriage of William of Orange, who was his nephew, to Mary, the daughter of his brother, James, Duke of York (1677). But he would not give way to his subjects' desire for war with France. The situation of affairs suited him perfectly. He could use the hostility of his subjects to France as a lever to force money from Louis XIV, in return for keeping the peace. This French money enabled him to defeat the Whigs at home, and to rule without a Parliament. Till the death of Charles II, England remained neutral in European politics.

JAMES II AND THE MONMOUTH REBELLION

The able politician, Charles II, was succeeded (1685) by his Catholic brother, James, Duke of York, whom the Whig party had tried to exclude from the succession. Thanks to the clever policy of his brother, James II was in a strong position. His Whig opponents had been defeated and discredited. Also Charles, by altering the charters of the towns, had ensured that the town corporations should be Tory in their sympathies. In many cases a town's Parliamentary representative was chosen by its corporation. James was therefore sure of a Tory Parliament. The Tories were his enthusiastic supporters, for the Anglican Church and the Tory party had, in resisting the Whig attempt to exclude James from the throne, become converted to the theory of "divine right." They believed that the king was chosen by God, and that obedience to him was a religious duty. Parliament even went so far as to vote James for life revenues sufficient to enable him to govern independently. It seemed that, at last, the King was to be absolute, and, if James had



JAMES II

resembled his brother, Charles II, he would no doubt have been able to retain his power

The strength of James's position was shown by the complete failure of the attempt made by the Duke of Monmouth, the illegitimate son of Charles II, to seize the throne. Monmouth had at one time, been very popular, and the Whigs had tried to secure the succession for him at the time of the Exclusion Bill

But when he landed in Dorset (1685), and proclaimed himself king, few of the gentry supported him. His followers were the country people of Somerset and Dorset. James had a trained army and an excellent general, John Churchill, who had served in Germany under Louis XIV's general, Turenne. The rebels were defeated at Sedgemoor (1685).

The work of suppressing the revolt was completed by Colonel Kirke, with a good deal of unnecessary cruelty. The severity with which Monmouth's supporters were punished by Judge Jeffries in what has been nicknamed the "Bloody Assize" has been exaggerated. But many were executed, and great numbers transported to work on the plantations in the West Indies. James had refused Monmouth's pleas for mercy, and had him put to death. This rebellion gave James an excuse for increasing his army. The ease with which it had been crushed impressed him with his own security, and encouraged him to embark on the policy that was to lose him his throne.

RELIGIOUS POLICY OF JAMES II

Charles II had been willing to sacrifice his religion to his desire for safety and for the extension of the royal power. James was an honest and sincere Catholic, and always refused to conceal his beliefs. He was determined that other English Catholics should cease to suffer for their faith. It was certain that even a Tory Parliament would refuse toleration, so James determined to grant it by his own authority. His first step towards this was to establish his power to permit individual Catholics to evade penal laws. He arranged for a test case to be brought against a Catholic, Sir Edward Hale, who had accepted a commission in the army by the King's authority. In Hale's Case (1686) the judges decided that the King had the right to "dispense" with the law in individual cases—that is, that he could give individuals permission to disobey the law. James then took advantage of this "dispensing" power to appoint Catholics to various offices that they were forbidden by law to occupy.

To silence the attacks of the Church upon Catholicism, James appointed a Court of Ecclesiastical Commission (1686). The Court's authority was based on the royal supremacy over the Church, as had been that of the Court of High Commission.

abolished by the Long Parliament. In 1687 the King got rid of his Anglican ministers and replaced them by Catholics, Father Petre and the Earl of Tyrconnell. He then issued a Declaration of Indulgence (1687) which suspended the action of all penal laws against Catholics and Dissenters. He granted them not only freedom of worship, as Charles II had attempted to do, but also the right to hold offices. The Declaration aroused a great deal of indignation. When, in 1688, James issued a second



THE RELEASE OF THE SEVEN BISHOPS AFTER THEIR TRIAL IN WESTMINSTER HALL, JUNE 29, 1688

Declaration of Indulgence, and ordered that it should be read in the churches, Sancroft, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and six other bishops, denounced it as a breach of the law. James had the bishops prosecuted for seditious libel. They were not only acquitted, but acclaimed as heroes by the London mob.

In these days it seems strange that such a storm could have arisen over granting toleration to Catholics. Also the loyalty of James to his religion appears more admirable, if less wise,

than the dissembling of Charles II. But England was still quite ready to get into a panic concerning Popish intrigues, and to think that Catholicism was about to be forced upon the whole nation. James, who was utterly devoid of tact and patience, helped to cause such a panic by putting the government into the hands of Catholics, and by increasing the size of his army. He officered his troops with Catholics and posted them on Hounslow Heath to overawe London, where he expected to meet opposition. People began to fear that he intended to imitate Louis XIV, who had just revoked the Edict of Nantes (which granted toleration to Protestants), and had begun a religious persecution. At the same time many Englishmen were alarmed by the King's claim to set aside the laws.

WHIG OPPOSITION TO THE KING THE REVOLUTION

These religious and political fears might have had no definite result, if they had not been encouraged and used by an influential part of the nation—the Whigs. France was not only trying to seize European provinces, but was taking the place of the United Netherlands as England's chief commercial rival. Louis XIV's minister, Colbert, was fostering and protecting French manufactures in a way injurious to English trade. The Whig party, that had attempted, in Charles II's reign, to exclude James from the throne, was supported by the great landowning families and by the merchants of the towns. Both of these classes had money invested in trade, and in chartered companies that were exploiting foreign markets. For this reason the Whigs hated the policy of friendship with their French commercial rivals followed by Charles II and James II. They would have preferred England to join the European coalition built up against Louis XIV by William of Orange, the ruler of the United Provinces. They looked forward, therefore, to the time when William, as the husband of James's daughter Mary, would succeed to the English throne. When James's religious measures began to arouse another anti-Catholic panic, they encouraged it, as they had encouraged the Popish plot scare. They hoped that the King had imperilled his throne, and began to persuade William to come to England to take his place.

Their commercial interests led the Whig landowners and merchants to be disloyal. Their party also had the support of

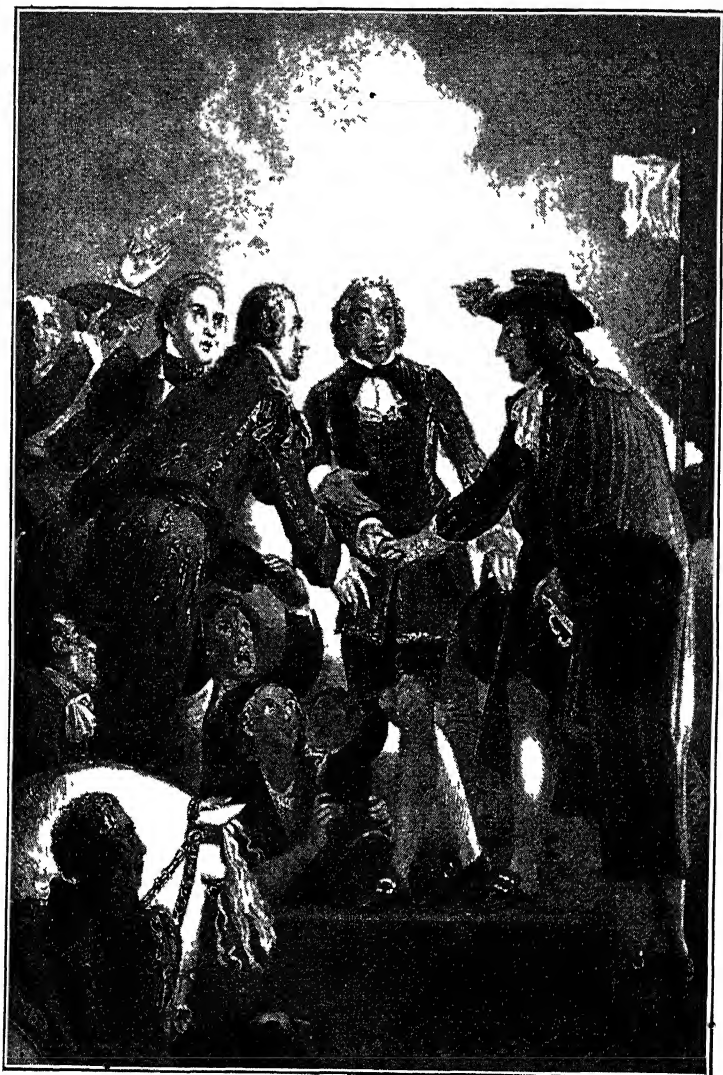
the Dissenters, whose fear of Catholicism made them unwilling to accept the King's grant of toleration. James's quarrel with the Church alienated his own supporters, the Tories, though their reverence for the office of king inclined them to wait quietly for James's death and the succession of William and Mary. But about the time of the trial of the seven Bishops, James's wife gave birth to a son, and the hope of a Protestant succession was apparently gone. This united all parties against the King, and the throne was secretly offered to William of Orange.

The situation now depended entirely upon the behaviour of Louis XIV, for William could not leave the United Provinces to be invaded by French troops. Louis, who was aware of James's peril, warned him of it and offered assistance. But the English King still felt himself secure and assured Louis that he needed no help. In pursuit of his policy of annexing frontier states, Louis was now quarrelling with the Pope over the choice of an Archbishop of Cologne. On James's assurance of his own safety, the French army was dispatched to invade the Rhineland. This, by leaving the United Provinces safe, made possible William's invasion of England, and he landed at Torbay (1688). James then discovered the treachery of his army and his ministers, for both deserted to the enemy: the behaviour of the army being decided by that of one of its leaders, John Churchill.

There was no fighting, for James had no army with which to resist the invader. Care was taken to permit him to escape to France, so that his flight could be interpreted as abdication. This made it easier for the Tories to change their king without abandoning their theory of Divine Right. The next task to be accomplished was to arrange some settlement by which William and Mary could become rulers of England.

WILLIAM III AND THE REVOLUTION SETTLEMENT

In driving out James II, England came near to civil war. This was prevented by the wisdom and moderation of William of Orange, who, as a foreigner, could view English affairs with detachment. He would only accept the Crown on such terms as would drive no party into open resistance to him. William's position was a difficult one. He had obtained the throne by making a bargain with his new subjects, and had none of the prestige given to the Stuart kings by the doctrine of divine right.



LANDING OF WILLIAM III AT TORBAY

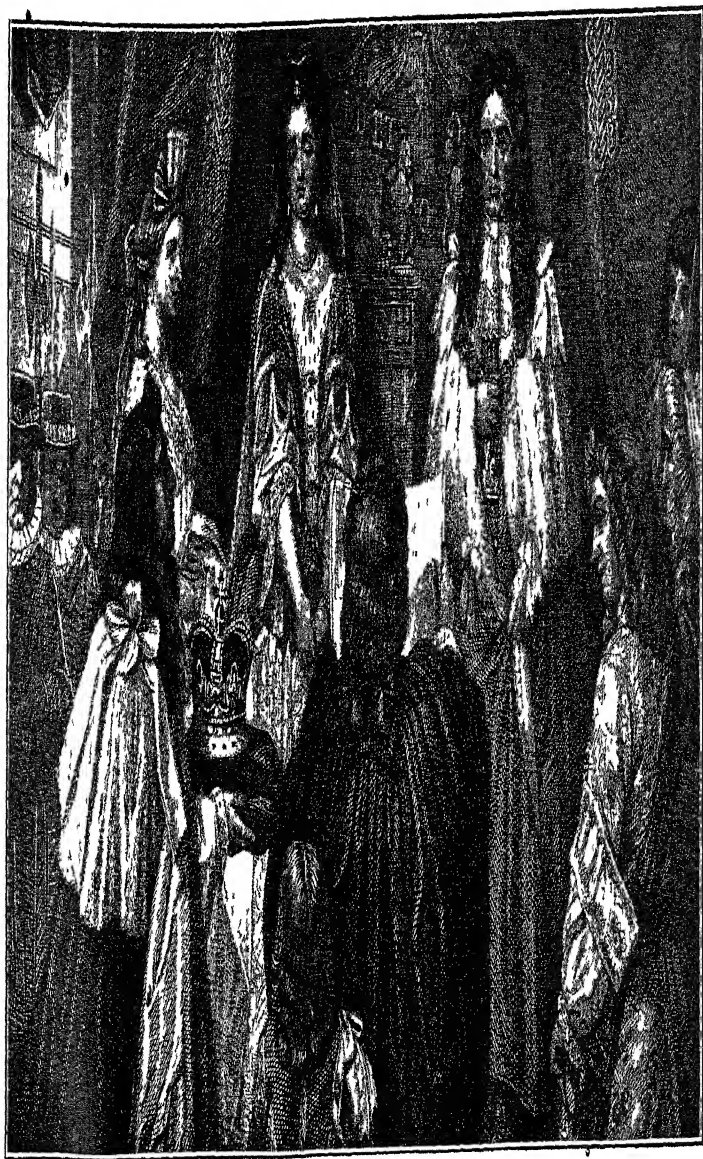
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The English did not like him, and he himself was devoted to the cause of Dutch independence, and interested in England only because he needed English support in his struggle with Louis XIV. He could place little dependence on his ministers, for the men who had been ready to intrigue with William, were now equally ready to guard their own safety by corresponding with the exiled James. These intrigues make the name "Glorious Revolution," commonly given to the change of monarchs, seem inappropriate. But the change was more important than at first appears. It marked the final victory of Parliament in its struggle with the Crown.

The terms on which William accepted the Crown were embodied in the Bill of Rights (1689). William and Mary were to be King and Queen. If they died without children, Mary's sister, Anne, was to succeed them. It was also laid down that no Roman Catholic could inherit the throne. Parliament safeguarded its position as the real ruler of England by declaring that the King could not suspend the operation of any law, so that the "suspending" and "dispensing" powers, used by James II, became illegal. The King was forbidden to interfere with Parliamentary elections, and the Parliamentary privilege of free speech was again affirmed. Charles II had evaded Parliamentary interference by summoning no Parliament, so it was now enacted that Parliament was to be summoned frequently. In practice, the King's need of money grants made it certain that Parliaments would now be called quite often. The Bill of Rights forbade the King to keep a standing army without Parliamentary consent, and the need for securing permission by Mutiny Acts at regular intervals made it still more certain that Parliaments would be frequent.

If it was no longer possible for the King to attempt to rule without Parliament, it was feared that he might keep a favourably-disposed assembly sitting indefinitely. So a new Triennial Act (1694) was passed, not as before to ensure that Parliament should be summoned every three years, but to order that a new Parliament should be elected at least once in three years.

Some years later, the necessity for deciding to whom the throne was to go on the death of Anne led to the passing of the Act of Settlement (1701), which placed the Electress Sophia of Hanover and her heirs after Anne in the succession. Sophia was



THE CROWN OFFERED TO WILLIAM AND MARY

the granddaughter of James I, her mother being that Elizabeth who had married the Elector Palatine Frederick. This regulation of the succession gave Parliament another chance to limit the power of the Crown. As the Tories, who were in power, disliked William III, they included in the Act various provisions directed at him personally, which were later abandoned. But an important change was made in the position of the judges, who could no longer be dismissed at the King's will, but held their office so long as their conduct was satisfactory. Since the judges no longer depended on royal favour, they could not be used, as the Stuarts had attempted to use them, to interpret the law in the way best suited to royal policy.

ESTABLISHMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY AUTHORITY

Parliament had already obtained the sole right of raising taxes, so that the King was dependent upon it for money. It now began to control more effectively the spending of the revenue. William did not attempt to resist its authority, but managed to carry out his own policy by playing off one political party against the other. A development in party-government as well as the establishment of Parliamentary sovereignty, followed the Revolution.

The establishment of the authority of Parliament meant that England was to be ruled by the will of a comparatively small number of landowners and merchants. These classes often had far less sympathy with the common people than had been shown by English kings. But the way had been paved for later increases in political freedom, which could be made by widening the franchise and making Parliament more representative. This process, however, did not begin till more than a hundred years later, and after the Revolution, it was party strife that helped to give the nation more liberty and prevented parliamentary government from becoming tyrannical. Whigs and Tories acted as a valuable check upon each other.

One important advancement towards freedom was made by the Toleration Act (1689), which gave Dissenters the right to hold their own religious services. But they were still cut off from a share in national and local government by the Test Act and the Corporation Act. Catholics and Unitarians were

excluded from the benefits of the Toleration Act, but the penal laws against them were not strictly enforced. Thus the toleration which had been so vigorously opposed after the Restoration was, at last, in some measure established.

THE REVOLUTION IN IRELAND

For Ireland the Revolution had disastrous results. On hearing of the expulsion of James II from England the Irish Catholics rose on his behalf, and shut up the English Protestant settlers in Londonderry and Enniskillen. Louis XIV supplied James with money to go to Ireland in person, and Londonderry was besieged (1689), its inhabitants being almost starved into surrender. But, in the end, the siege of Londonderry was raised by English ships, while the people of Enniskillen defeated their enemies at Newtown Butler. In 1690 William III appeared in Ireland and defeated James in the Battle of the Boyne, after which James left the country. William left Ginkel, a Dutchman, to subdue the Irish, but their resistance was stubborn, ending in the defence of Limerick by Sarsfield. To secure the surrender of Limerick to its besiegers, the Treaty of Limerick (1691) was made with its inhabitants. In this treaty it was promised that Irishmen who had fought for James should be allowed to go abroad, and that Catholics should receive the same treatment as they had had during the reign of Charles II.

If the terms of that treaty had been carried out, old grievances might have been forgotten, and Ireland might have settled down peacefully under English rule. But the treaty was broken, and all political rights were taken from Catholics, who formed the greater part of the Irish population. They could neither vote in parliamentary elections, nor hold offices. In addition to this, many galling personal restrictions were placed upon them.

The Irish Catholics emigrated in large numbers to America, while those who remained in Ireland became increasingly hostile to England. Another Protestant plantation deprived yet more Catholics of their land, so that almost all Irish landowners were Protestants. At the same time Irish manufacturers were crushed by heavy tariffs and trade restrictions made in the interests of their English competitors.



SIEGE OF LONDONDERRY, 1689

THE REVOLUTION IN SCOTLAND

Among the Presbyterians of the Scottish Lowlands the English Revolution was welcomed because it put an end to the attacks on their religion carried out by Charles II and James II. As before the Covenanters showed themselves quite as ready to use violence as were their oppressors. They attacked Anglican clergy and despoiled their churches, until order was restored by William's troops. Fortunately, Scottish Presbyterianism was not hated by the English as was the Catholicism of Ireland, so William and Mary were able to obtain the Scottish Crown in return for the establishment of Presbyterianism as the national Church of Scotland. For this the Lowland Scots had been struggling since the days of Charles I.

The Scottish Highlands had none of the Presbyterian sympathies of the Lowlands, and were easily united in support of James II by John Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee. Dundee, an excellent and experienced soldier, defeated William's troops in the Pass of Killiecrankie, but his death in battle destroyed the value of his victory. Without their leader, the Highland clans had no unity, and could be reduced one after another. Unfortunately an act of cruelty was committed which aroused the hostility of the Highlanders and increased their devotion to the Stuarts.

This act, the Massacre of Glencoe, was really due to the feuds of the Highland clans. It was engineered by the Campbells against their hereditary foes, the MacDonalds, though the English Government was formally responsible for it. Pardon had been promised to all those who took the oath of allegiance to William before the end of the year 1689. By an accident, the chief of the MacDonalds of Glencoe failed to do so. The opportunity was seized by the Duke of Argyle, the chief of the Campbells, and by John Dalrymple, Master of Stair, the Secretary of State for Scotland, to send a body of Campbell's soldiers to Glencoe. They massacred the MacDonalds, after having been received by them with every sign of loyalty and hospitality. William III's signature had been obtained to the order for the massacre. This, and the fact that Stair was at the head of the Scottish Government, made the matter an affair of great political importance. It left the Highlanders very hostile to William.

Before the end of William's reign the Lowlands had become almost as unfriendly as the Highlands. This was due to the failure of a scheme to plant Scottish settlers on the Isthmus of Darien (1698). The venture was made by a company for trading with Africa and India, established by an Englishman, William Paterson, and supported by both Scottish and English capital. The Scottish grievance arose because the English withdrew from the scheme, when it seemed likely that the trade of the East India Company might suffer. Then, when the Scottish colony was planted on the Isthmus of Darien, it was given no support of protection by England, and after the settlers had suffered great hardships they were attacked and driven out by the Spaniards. The Scots blamed England for the failure of the venture, and the two nations seemed once more to be drawing apart.

Since they had no share in the English Act of Settlement the Scots passed an Act of Security in 1704, in which they asserted their right to choose who was to succeed Queen Anne in Scotland. This Act made it possible that the union of the English and Scottish Crowns would end with Anne's death. In 1705 England retaliated by Somers's Act, which declared Scotsmen in England to be aliens, and forbade the import of Scottish sheep, cattle, and linen. The border fortresses were garrisoned, and it became evident that further trouble would result unless some settlement were effected.

Negotiations between the two countries were begun, and lasted for more than a year, during which questions of Parliament, Church and Law had to be decided. In 1707 the Union of England and Scotland took place. The Scottish Parliament was dissolved, and Scotland was represented in the English Parliament by sixteen peers and forty-five members of the House of Commons. Scotland retained her own Common-law and her Presbyterian Church, and obtained the great advantage of equality of trade with England. Thus the two nations retained their individuality, but their struggles came to an end, and England was freed from the danger of Scottish hostility when she was engaged in European struggles.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE WARS OF WILLIAM III AND MARLBOROUGH

THE WAR OF THE ENGLISH SUCCESSION

From the European point of view, the English Revolution was only a new phase in the struggle between Louis XIV and William of Orange, the ruler of the United Provinces. William had devoted his life and energies to the cause of Dutch independence. He agreed to take part in dethroning James II, only because he wanted to make England a member of his anti-French coalition, the League of Augsburg (1686). His opponent, Louis, supported James both in Ireland and at sea.

When Louis XIV invaded the Rhineland, leaving William of Orange free to come to England, he had ordered his armies to lay waste a wide belt of German territory. This aroused German national feeling against him, and when England joined the League of Augsburg in 1690, among her allies were the German states of Hanover and Brandenburg. The Holy Roman Emperor and the King of Spain were still alarmed by Louis's designs upon the Hapsburg inheritance so they too joined the alliance. The struggle between France and the Allies is known as the War of the League of Augsburg, or the War of the English Succession.

The war was fought at sea, in the Low Countries and in Italy, and at first the French were successful everywhere. At sea they had to encounter the navies of the two sea-powers, England and the United Provinces, and defeated them both in Bantry Bay, and off Beachy Head (1690). After this, an invasion of England was planned, but did not take place. The French kept command of the Channel till they were defeated by Admiral Russell in the Battle of La Hogue. After this naval warfare ceased to be important, degenerating into an affair of French raids upon English shipping.



THE BATTLE OF LA HOGUE, 1692

An important naval victory over the French. The broom represents the Dutch who were allied with the English under William III

In the Low Countries the French were commanded by the Duke of Luxemburg, who was a brilliant general. The allies were commanded by William III, who was already noted for the number of battles he had lost. The war at first centred round the "barrier fortresses" guarding the frontier between France and the Spanish Netherlands, but the French captured Mons (1691) and Namur (1692), and so entered the Netherlands themselves. Then they defeated William at Steinkirk (1692) and Neerwinden (1692). But though William was not a first class general he was one who never abandoned a struggle. The death of Luxemburg put an end to French successes, and enabled William to re-take Namur (1695).

It seemed that the war might drag on indefinitely without a victory for either side. But to Louis XIV the acquisition of single provinces, such as the Spanish Netherlands, was much less important than his scheme for dividing the whole Spanish empire on the death of its ruler, Charles II. Charles, whose ill-health had for years made Europe expect his death, was now reported to be really dying. Louis realised that, so long as he was at war with the western European states, he could not hope that they would agree with him about the division of the Spanish inheritance. He became so eager for peace that, by the Treaty of Ryswick (1697) the Allies were able to obtain much better terms than had been earned by their success in the war. Except Strasbourg, the French King restored all the conquests he had made. He also agreed to recognise William III as king of England and not to assist the Stuarts to regain their throne.

The small results that followed the war show how the aggressive policy of Louis XIV was wasting the resources of his own and other countries in vain. But it had important effects upon English domestic affairs. Since the Whigs were hostile to France they supported William's policy, and the management of the war passed into their hands. The Tories disliked and opposed William, feeling that their allegiance was due, not to their foreign king, but to his Stuart wife, Mary. After the death of Mary (1694) their hostility increased. William therefore found it better to choose his ministers from the Whig party another step towards party government. The war demanded a great deal of money, and the Whig party happened to possess leaders of financial skill. They devised methods for meeting its demands that involved important changes in national finance.

THE WHIGS AND NATIONAL FINANCE

In 1693 the system of loans known as the National Debt was invented to raise money for the war. In the past, when the King had needed to borrow money for such an emergency, he had raised it on his personal credit, promising to repay it out of future revenue. The lender had to depend, for the security of his loan, upon the King's promise, and on the royal ability to repay. For this reason the interest demanded was usually heavy. Moreover the King might find it impossible to borrow



THE OLD BANK, LOOKING FROM THE MANSION HOUSE
From a Print of 1730

any more money if his creditors felt that he was exceeding his resources. This difficulty in raising unlimited supplies of money had always been a most important factor in foreign policy, since it was useless to embark upon a scheme too expensive for the royal resources.

The Whig financiers solved this difficulty by borrowing money on the security of Parliament, instead of on that of the King. This satisfied the financiers, because Parliament could vote taxes to repay their loans. These were not at first regarded as permanent, but the foreign wars of the eighteenth century cost a good

deal of money, and in the end the National Debt became a permanent part of national finance. Parliament attended punctually to the payment of interest upon it, and the bulk of the capital remained unpaid.

In 1694 the government loan was raised from a body of Whig capitalists, who received, by charter, permission to found the Bank of England. This Bank was, and is, a private chartered company, not a government department. But it obtained great importance and a sure income through managing government loans. It gave the Whig party the support of financiers, who now, since the government needed loans from them, acquired more and more influence over its policy. Another important financial measure was the restoration of the coinage, which had not been restored since the days of Queen Elizabeth.

SPAIN AND THE PARTITION TREATIES

After the Peace of Ryswick the English cut down the numbers of their regular army and prepared for peace. Most of the nation was thoroughly weary of a war that seemed to have accomplished little. William III and his policy were unpopular, especially with the Tories, who disliked the King the more because of his preference for Whig ministers. But William was, as usual, more interested in Europe than in English affairs. Like Louis XIV he had his attention fixed on the problem of the Spanish succession.

It was at last certain that Charles II of Spain must soon die. All Europe was interested in the fate of his dominions and eager that they should not be joined to France or the Empire. But it was obvious that they must go to some relative of Louis XIV or of the Emperor Leopold I. Charles II of Spain was the last male representative of the Spanish Hapsburgs, and the mother and wife both of the Emperor and of the French King had been Spanish princesses. The question whether the Hapsburgs of the Empire, or the Bourbons of France had the better hereditary claim was a very complicated one.

Louis XIV was determined that his family should gain at least a share of the Spanish dominions. William III wanted to prevent the Spanish Netherlands and the Spanish colonies from falling into French hands. In spite of his long struggle with Louis, he was willing to come to some agreement by which

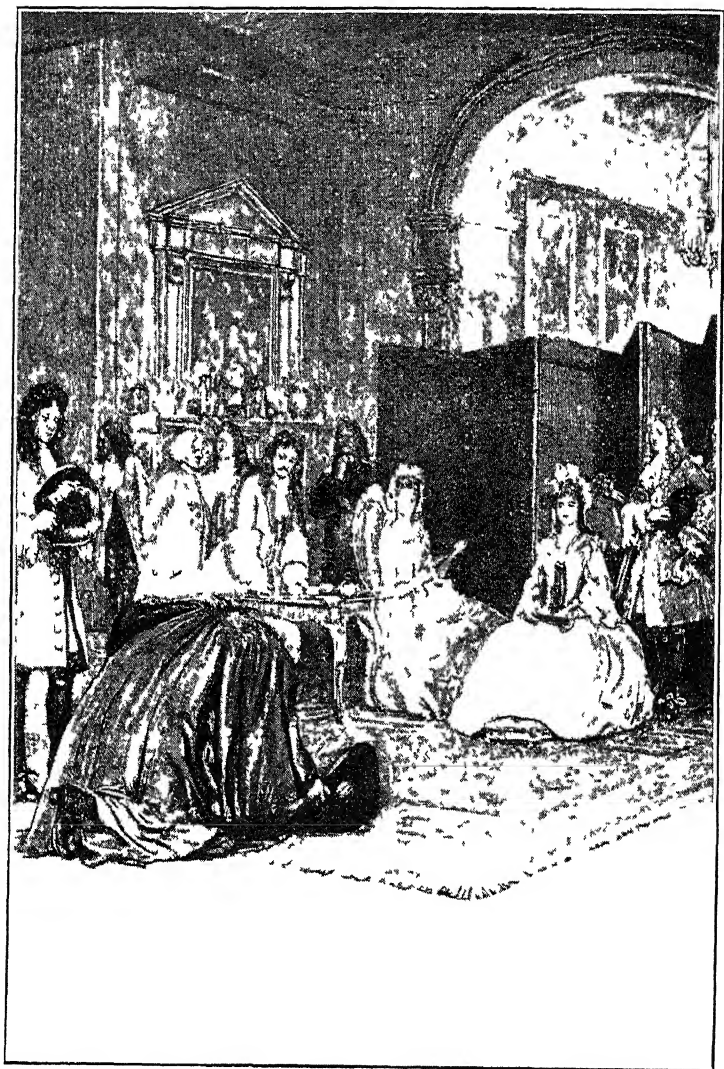
France should definitely abandon her claim to these parts of the Spanish Empire, in return for English and Dutch support in gaining other parts of it

In 1698, the First Partition Treaty was concluded between France, England, and the United Provinces. This Treaty arranged for a division of the Spanish Empire on the death of Charles II of Spain. Spain, the Netherlands, and the Spanish colonies were to go to the child, Joseph, Electoral Prince of Bavaria, and grandson of the Emperor Leopold I. The Dauphin was to have most of the Italian possessions of Spain, but Milan was reserved for a younger son of the Emperor, the Archduke Charles. In 1699 the little prince of Bavaria died, so a Second Partition Treaty (1700) was made, by which his share—Spain, the Netherlands, and the Spanish colonies—were to go to the Archduke Charles, while the Dauphin was to have the Italian provinces.

THE GRAND ALLIANCE SUCCESSION OF ANNE

Both Charles of Spain and his subjects resented the attempt of France, England, and the United Provinces to divide up the Spanish Empire. On learning of the Partition Treaties, Charles made a will by which he left all his possessions to Philip, Duke of Anjou, a grandson of Louis XIV with the condition that Spain and France were never to be united. Louis was bound in honour to stand by the treaty he had made, but the will proved to be an irresistible temptation, and he had his grandson proclaimed king of Spain as Philip V.

The Emperor was determined to uphold the claims of his younger son, the Archduke Charles. William III was prepared to oppose, as a threat to Dutch independence, the possession of the Spanish Netherlands by a French prince. But England was not very interested in the European situation, and had no desire for another war. Moreover the Tories who had a majority in Parliament, hated William III, and delighted in opposing his policy. Then Louis XIV unwisely provoked the resentment of England. He sent French troops to occupy the Spanish Netherlands. He ordered the exclusion of the English from trade with the Spanish colonies. Also he acknowledged the son of James II, the "Old Pretender," as king of England, on his father's death. Thanks to the rashness of his opponent,



BISHOP BURNET ANNOUNCING HER ACCESSION TO ANNE

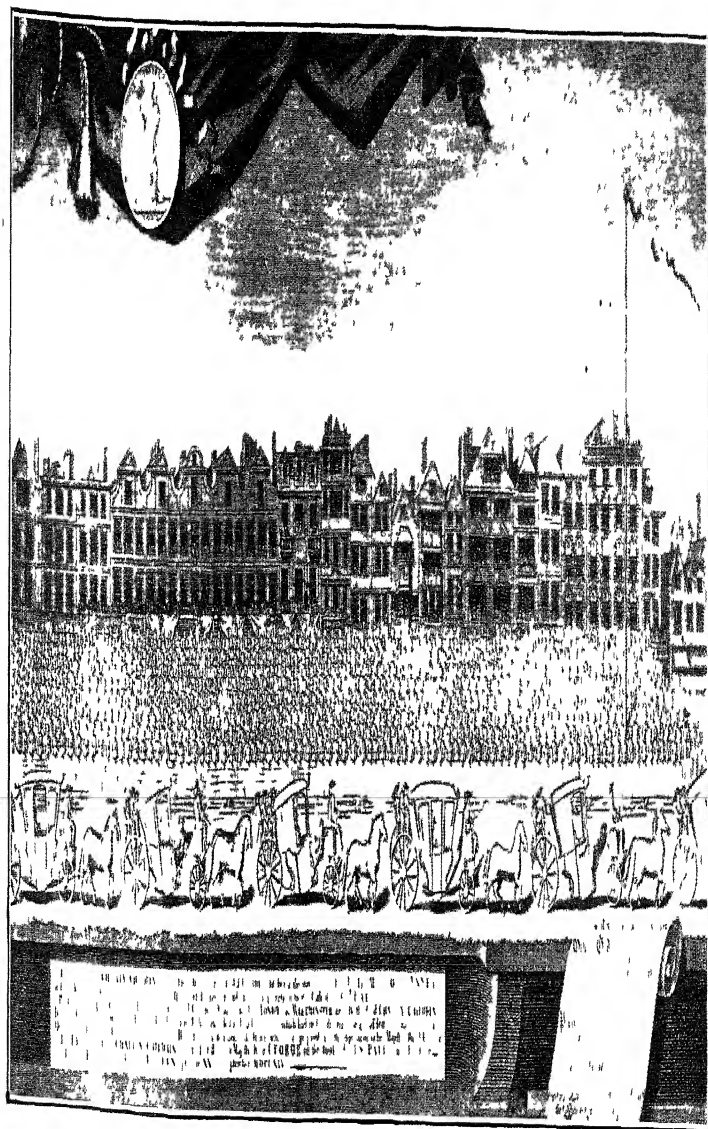
William III was able to form a "Grand Alliance" (1701) against France. This alliance included England, the Empire, and the United Provinces.

William III lived to see western Europe once more uniting against his enemy, Louis XIV. But he died, as the result of a fall from his horse, before the war of the Spanish Succession began. He was succeeded by Anne, the younger daughter of James II. The direction of the war passed, on the death of William, into the hands of a military genius, John Churchill. Churchill had defeated Monmouth at Sedgemoor, and had, by his desertion to William, been a principal cause of the fall of James II. William created him Earl of Marlborough, and Anne made him a duke.

Marlborough had served William badly, corresponding with James II, and even becoming involved in a plot to assassinate William. The King pardoned him, but did not trust him with any military command. He was sure of Anne's favour, for the new Queen was completely under the influence of his wife. Marlborough commanded the forces of the Grand Alliance and won a series of brilliant victories. He also maintained control of home affairs through his wife, and through his ally, the Treasurer, Sidney Godolphin. At the time his diplomatic skill held the Grand Alliance together. Marlborough was grasping and mean in money matters, and did not scruple to betray his employers when it suited his own ends, but he was one of the great military geniuses of history.

THE SPANISH SUCCESSION WAR IN CENTRAL EUROPE

In the War of the Spanish Succession (1702-1713) most of the states of western Europe tried to secure the greater part of the Spanish dominions for the Archduke Charles, while France upheld the will of Charles II of Spain, which gave them to Philip of Anjou. The Grand Alliance made by England, the Empire, and the United Provinces was supported by Denmark, Prussia, Hanover, and many smaller states. In addition to these, in 1703, it was joined by Savoy and Portugal. The support of Portugal was given in return for a commercial treaty with England, the Methuen Treaty (1703), by which the English duties on Portuguese wines were lowered.



QUEEN ANNE'S PROCESSION IN THE STRAND, JULY 7, 1713, FOR THE CELEBRATION IN ST. PAUL'S OF THE PEACE OF UTRECHT.

France had only one ally of importance, Bavaria. Also, her armies were outnumbered by those of the Allies, and her navy was not large enough to defend the Spanish colonial empire. But she had certain important advantages. The Spaniards preferred to have Philip V for their king, so their help could be relied upon against the Allies. Moreover, France, Bavaria, and Spain were within easy reach of each other. The Allies were scattered, fighting in different parts of Europe, and always ready to disagree with one another.

That the Grand Alliance kept together at all was due to the diplomatic skill of Marlborough, who showed almost as much genius in managing his allies as in fighting battles. The war was fought in central Europe and the Spanish Netherlands, in Spain and Italy, and at sea. Marlborough, who commanded the English forces in the Netherlands, was at first hampered by his Dutch allies, who wanted to remain continually on the defensive to protect their own country. The French had been successful in central Europe, and Marlborough saw there was serious danger that they would take Vienna. So he left only a small force to defend the Netherlands, and marched into Bavaria, crossing the Rhine at Donauworth. There he joined the forces of his allies, commanded by Prince Eugene of Savoy, and the two generals defeated the Franco-Bavarian army at Blenheim (1704). After this victory Bavaria was soon in the hands of the Allies and Marlborough was able to return to the Netherlands, where he won a series of famous battles.

In 1706 he routed the French in the Battle of Ramillies. This victory secured the Spanish Netherlands for the Allies. In 1708 Marlborough won the Battle of Oudenarde, and the victory was followed by an allied invasion of France. French resources were becoming exhausted, but the Allies would not make peace on reasonable terms, so Louis managed to raise a new army. This was defeated by Marlborough in the Battle of Malplaquet (1709), though at the cost of such heavy losses to the victors that their invasion of France was stopped.

WARS IN SPAIN AND AT SEA

Meanwhile, the fortunes of the Allies in Spain had been varied. The Spanish nation resented the attempt of Europe to choose a king for it, and supported Philip V. The Allies'

general, the Earl of Peterborough, though erratic, had ability and originality, and his rapid movements, stratagems, and sudden attacks, won success in the early years of the war. In 1705 he took Barcelona, and obtained control of the provinces of Valencia, Murcia, and Catalonia. In 1706 Philip V was forced to flee while the Archduke Charles was proclaimed king in Madrid. But Peterborough failed to co-operate with the Archduke, and the French soon restored Philip to his kingdom. In 1707 they defeated the Allies at Almanza and reconquered a great part of the country. Peterborough was succeeded in his command by Stanhope, but in 1710 the Allies were defeated at Brihuega and Villa Viciosa. Spain was now in the hands of the Bourbons.

The English fleet was definitely superior to that of the French, and in 1704 Rooke captured Gibraltar, while in 1708 Minorca was taken. This naval superiority was maintained till the end of the war. After Marlborough's costly victory at Malplaquet and the re-conquest of Spain by the French, it was obvious that the Allies had not yet won the war on land. The French had made efforts to secure peace, but without success, and the English people were beginning to believe that Marlborough and the Whig party were prolonging the struggle to suit their own ends. In 1710 a Tory ministry, anxious for peace, came into power in England. A year later an event occurred that made the Allied cause appear absurd. The Emperor Joseph I, the elder brother of the Archduke Charles, died (1711), and Charles himself became emperor as Charles VI. To support his claim to the Spanish inheritance now meant to unite the Spanish dominions to the Empire, which would have made the Hapsburgs overwhelmingly powerful. Marlborough was dismissed and the British Government began to negotiate for peace with France.

THE PEACE OF UTRECHT

The Peace of Utrecht (1713) ended the war. After much wrangling the Spanish empire was at last divided. Philip V kept Spain with its colonial dependencies. The Italian provinces and the Spanish Netherlands went to the Emperor. A solemn agreement was made that the French and Spanish Crowns should never be united. The Dutch obtained the right to garrison their barrier fortresses, and were thus relieved from their fear of the

establishment of French control of the Netherlands This partition of the Spanish empire is an interesting example of the eighteenth century attitude that regarded states as the property of their rulers, to be exchanged and transferred from one allegiance to another without reference to the wishes of their inhabitants



Mondiale

INDIANS TRADING WITH HUDSON BAY COMPANY—FORT CHARLES

The concessions secured by England are significant They show that English interests had become definitely colonial and commercial From France England received Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and Hudson's Bay Territory These were important additions to her colonies in North America She kept

Gibraltar and Minorca, which she had captured during the war, and thus became a Mediterranean sea-power. By the *Asiento* Treaty, Spain permitted her, for thirty years, to import a fixed number of negroes every year to the Spanish colonies, and to send one ship yearly to Porto Bello, on the Isthmus of Panama. These concessions were made the excuse for a good deal more trade with the Spanish colonies than was granted by them.

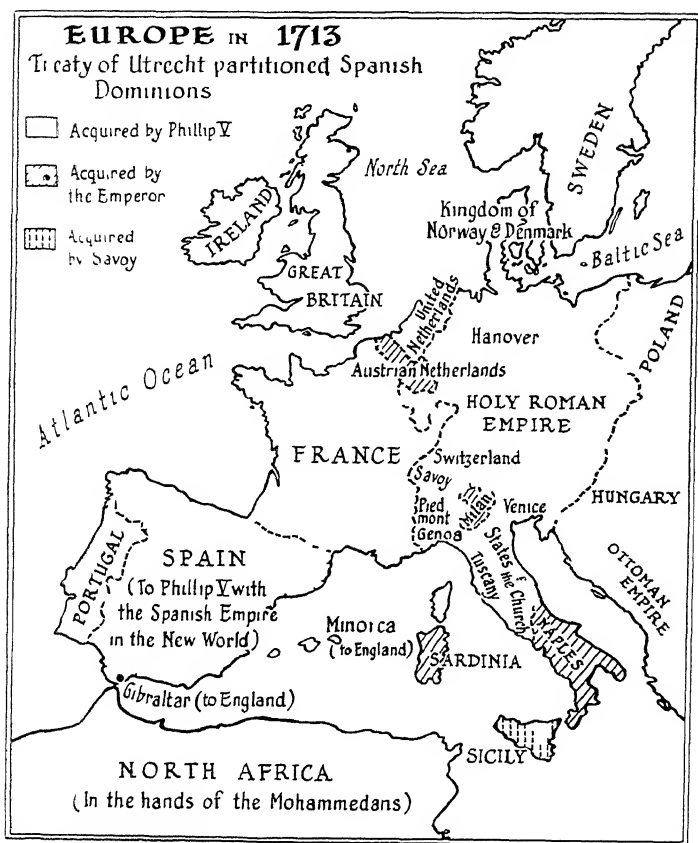
QUEEN ANNE AND PARTY GOVERNMENT

During the war England had been the scene of party struggles. Queen Anne was not politically minded, and left government to her ministers, but her sympathies were Tory, rather than Whig. Yet, during the earlier years of her reign, she was so much dominated by her friendship with the Duchess of Marlborough, that her support was given to the Marlborough-Godolphin ministry. Though chosen at first from both parties, this became completely Whig, because the Whigs could be relied upon to support the war.

Godolphin was an able minister, but, as the country became tired of the war, his own, and Marlborough's, popularity waned. Meanwhile the Tories found, in Mrs Masham, a rival to the Duchess of Marlborough, a woman who could influence the Queen in their interests. The Tories and the Queen both supported the High Church party. In 1710, Godolphin was foolish enough to punish a High Church clergyman, Dr Sacheverell, who had denounced toleration and attacked the principles of the Revolution. A storm of indignation broke out, and Anne, sure of popular support, dismissed the Whig ministry.

The Tories came into power (1710) under the leadership of Bolingbroke and Harley. To please their High Church supporters and check the Dissenters, who supported the Whig party, they passed the Occasional Conformity Act (1711). This prevented Dissenters from taking the Anglican sacrament once a year in order to qualify themselves to hold municipal offices. In 1714 a Schism Act forbade Dissenters to keep schools. Over this Act, Harley and Bolingbroke quarrelled, and Harley retired, just at the time when the illness of the Queen brought the question of the succession to the front.

The Tories had been corresponding with "James III.," the exiled son of James II., and Bolingbroke was inclined to support



EUROPE IN 1713

a Jacobite restoration. The Whigs had kept closely in touch with George, Elector of Hanover, the son of that Sophia of Hanover, to whom the Crown had been given by the Act of Settlement (1701). On the Queen's death, the Whigs seized power, secured the accession of George I, and the Tory schemes came to nothing.

CHAPTER XXXII

ENGLAND IN STUART TIMES

GENERAL AND AGRICULTURAL CHANGES

The seventeenth century was for England a time of great changes, both at home and abroad. In the struggle between King and Parliament the strong monarchy built up by the Tudors lost its authority. Power passed to the upper classes, who ruled the country through a Parliament almost completely under their control.

In Tudor times, though England was developing into a sea-power, she seemed hopelessly left behind by Spain and Portugal in the race for colonial empire. But she had now become, under the Stuarts, an important colonising and commercial power. She possessed an unbroken line of colonies along the North American coast, and trading settlements on the shores of the Indian Ocean and on the coast of Africa. In the sixteenth century only clever Tudor diplomacy had saved England from French or Spanish control. Now the country emerged, at the end of the Stuart period, as the principal rival of France, the most powerful state in Europe. But English rivalry was commercial and colonial, rather than European.

These changes, so far as they affected the masses in England, were not altogether beneficial. In Parliament the upper classes abolished feudal dues on their own estates, and replaced them by taxes paid by the whole nation. The control over local government exercised by Courts such as Star Chamber and the Council of the North had often prevented oppression of the poor. When, in the conflict between King and Parliament, these courts were abolished, the Poor Law was not so well administered, nor was it so easy for the poor to get justice, especially against their landlords. On the whole the King was a kinder and more impartial ruler of the lower classes than was Parliament. Parliament was controlled by landlords, who had more to gain by exploiting their tenants than had the King. Nor had the ordinary people yet received any share in the government of the country. On the whole, they benefited little by the struggle between King and Parliament, at any rate for the time being.

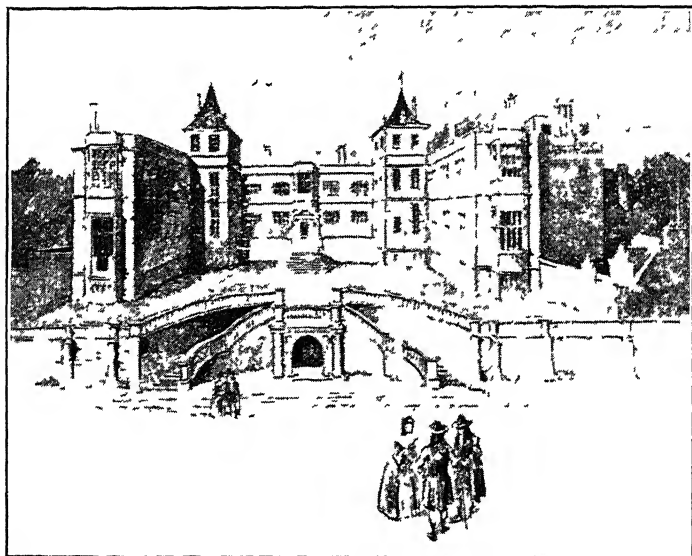
Most of the English were still country people, who lived in villages and worked on the land, either as farmers or as labourers. Agricultural methods had not varied much. In many parts of the country the medieval system of working the ploughed land in three large "open fields" continued. But the process of enclosing land for arable farming, or sheep-farming was still going on. As enclosures spread the countryside was gradually changing. Stretches of waste, meadows, pasture, and open fields divided into strips by "balks" of unploughed land, were being replaced by smaller fields surrounded by hedges. The progress of enclosure caused unemployment and usually meant suffering for small farmers and the poor. But it tended to improve methods of farming, and the unemployed were beginning to find a market for their work in the American colonies, where they had a good chance of becoming independent farmers.

INFLUENCE OF THE COUNTRY GENTRY

In country districts the most important person was the squire. He was usually a magistrate, and so helped to administer the law, and his position as landlord gave him a great deal of influence over the farmers. In many parts of the country the local gentry belonged to old families, and their tenants had for them a sort of hereditary devotion. But, since the ownership of an estate was the badge of gentility, merchants who had made fortunes in the towns bought land, built country houses, and settled down to become squires and found a county family. The Stuart period was a time when beautiful manor-houses were built. Many of them were very large, for the families who lived in them were inclined to keep together, and sons who married usually brought their wives to live with their parents. Life in these mansions was often elaborate and stately, and great numbers of servants were kept.

The influence of the squires usually decided the politics and religion of their tenants. At the time of the Long Parliament there were many Puritan squires, and it was from the country gentry that the leaders of Parliament against the King were drawn. But, after the Restoration, the complete breach between Church and Puritans, and the exclusion of Dissenters from political and local offices brought most of the moderate Puritans into the Church. The country squire gradually became a Churchman.

and a Tory, and was often, after the Revolution, tinged with Jacobitism. Toryism, therefore, became the political creed of the countryside, as Whigism was of the towns. The country Whigs usually belonged to the class of yeomen, who owned their own small farms and, being independent of the squire, liked to show their freedom to have their own opinions. A great part of the nobility was Whig, but these great landowners usually



THE MANOR HOUSE, WIMBLEDON (1660)

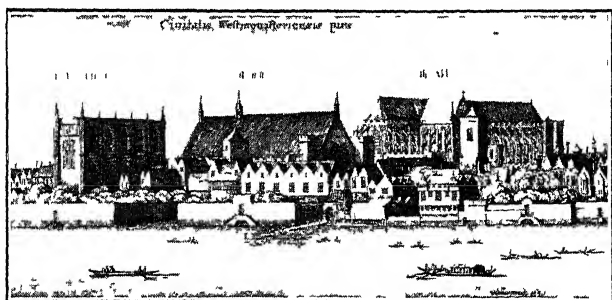
lived in London, and when they visited their estates were less closely associated with local affairs than were the squires.

THE TOWNS AND TOWN WORKERS

During the Stuart period the towns were, as a rule, the strongholds of the Puritans and, later, of the Whigs. After the Reformation the townspeople had become strongly Protestant in their prejudices, and were ready to believe any evil of Catholics, as was shown at the time of the Popish plot scare. Puritan preachers, also, had a deep appeal for their town audiences, most of whom remained faithful to them in spite of

the persecution of Puritans that followed the Restoration. The Dissenter of the towns was inclined to be advanced in his political as in his religious views. He upheld the Parliamentary party against the King, and later the Whigs against the Tories. The lower classes in towns, as in the country, had no representation in Parliament, and could express their political sympathies only through mob demonstrations and rioting. The town-mob was a dangerous body, and at this period there was no adequate police organisation to control it. Politicians like Pym and Shaftesbury frequently used the London mob to frighten their opponents, as at the time of the Long Parliament and of the Popish plot.

Towns were still insanitary, especially in their poorer quarters. During the first half of the century there were frequent



WESTMINSTER IN THE REIGN OF CHARLES I British Museum

attacks of the plague, which had broken out in England periodically ever since the Black Death of the fourteenth century. The last of these outbreaks was the Great Plague of London (1665), the severity of which created a panic in the capital. After this, for some reason or other, the plague died out, although sanitary conditions remained unimproved. The fear of epidemics still continued, for the plague was replaced by the smallpox, which ravaged England during the eighteenth century.

The condition of the town worker was not improving. Guild organisation, which had once given the workman some security, as a member of a recognised organisation, had broken down. The Elizabethan attempt, in the Statute of Artificers, to maintain its advantages by upholding the system of apprenticeship was

breaking down too. The old idea, upon which apprenticeship and the gild system was based, was that the apprentice and workman should finally become master-craftsmen, who sold their goods and employed workers. But in Stuart times, though the shopkeeper, who was also a craftsman, still remained, industry was coming to be differently organised. The retailer, who did not make the goods he sold, was appearing in large numbers. So was the capitalist employer of labour. The capitalist clothiers, who had been evolved in the later Middle Ages, still controlled the most important English industry. In the woollen trade, the workmen employed received small wages, and the great fortunes made by their employers were built out of the profits of sweated labour. The gulf between employer and workman was widening. At the same time a snobbery was developing that made the gentry dislike the idea of apprenticing their sons to a trade.

THE MERCHANTS AND THEIR INFLUENCE

Trade was increasing, especially foreign trade. The merchants of the towns were rich and influential, and had money to invest. Much of it was invested in the chartered companies that were being formed to exploit foreign markets, to found colonies, or to take the place of the gilds in the management of some home industries. The nobility and gentry, as well as the merchants, invested money in such companies as the East India Company. So most of the influential part of the nation became personally interested in the expansion of trade, and their influence had a strong effect upon English foreign policy. This became hostile to England's principal commercial rivals—first to the Dutch and, later, to the expanding colonial power of France.

The merchants had a great deal of political influence. They worked in close alliance with the gentry to curb the power of Charles I. by the measures of the Long Parliament. After the Restoration, they became the backbone of Shaftesbury's Whig party. Their political views carried weight because of the number of members of Parliament chosen by the town corporations. This led to the re-modelling of the corporations by Charles II., so that they should be Tory in their sympathies. At the Revolution the Crown was forbidden to take measure to influence Parliamentary elections. Instead of the King, it was now the

great landowners who selected the representatives of boroughs under their control

After the institution of the National Debt, capitalists could influence the policy of the Government by refusing to lend money for schemes they disapproved. They became closely associated with the Whig party, which had borrowed the money, and firmly opposed a Jacobite restoration, since they feared that the Stuarts might refuse to pay debts contracted during their exile.

PURITANISM AND THE NATION

Religion played an important part in the history of the seventeenth century. There is no reason to suppose that people were more religious at that time than at any other, but the quarrel between Puritans and High Churchmen was so closely bound up with the struggle between King and Parliament that it was difficult for ordinary people to avoid taking sides with either one religious party or the other. The idea that people should be free to accept what creed they pleased was developing only slowly during the century. The ordinary person found his beliefs and behaviour interfered with by whichever religious sect happened to be in power.

In spite of their persecution of Puritans, Laud and the High Church party of Charles I's reign did not interfere much in the lives of ordinary people. Laud found the Church in disorder after the upheaval caused by the Reformation. Churches had been plundered and seized for improper uses, and services varied and were often carried out in a slovenly fashion. Laud did good work in restoring order and decency, though it is arguable that his outlook made him attach too much importance to ritual and show too much bitterness against the Puritans. But he did not interfere with ordinary people's pleasures. His savage punishment of opponents roused popular feeling, yet most of England would have been content to accept his reforms. It was the diligence and honesty with which Laud did justice in the Star Chamber, and supervised the affairs of the colonies that made the landowners and merchants hate him and give their support to his Puritan opponents.

Puritanism was never popular with the bulk of the nation, because the Puritan religion was gloomy, and saw evil in many innocent pleasures. It is to the credit of Puritans that, during

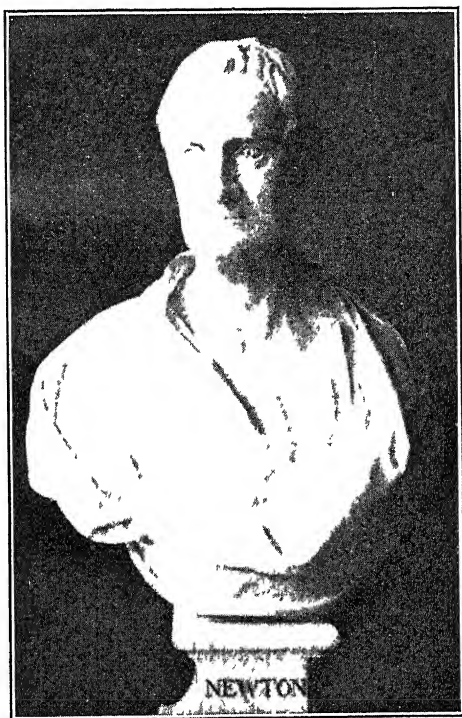
the Commonwealth period, they attempted to suppress such cruel sports as bull-baiting. But this was only one feature of a campaign against amusements. The Puritans condemned such pastimes as dancing. They preferred people to wear plain, dark-coloured clothes, and wished to abolish the stage altogether. The observance of Sunday as a day of abstinence from games and pleasures was a Puritan invention much condemned by High Churchmen. Since the Puritans were led by their religion to interfere with the pleasures of other people, it is easy to understand their unpopularity and the joy with which England welcomed the end of Puritan government at the Restoration. After this English manners and morals became for a time very slack, more particularly in Court circles, a reaction from the restraint that had been imposed upon them.

SLOW DEVELOPMENT OF RELIGIOUS TOLERATION

During the seventeenth century the idea of religious toleration was slowly developing. Most people were scandalised by the idea that their fellow-men should be left free to fall into whatever religious errors they might choose. Even the Puritans, much as they disliked some of the doctrines and ceremonies of the Church of England, were slow in making up their minds to leave it. Their wish was to alter it to suit their own ideas, and the greater number of them were just as intolerant, and as determined to force their own religious opinions on everybody else as were their High Church persecutors. The extreme section of the Puritans, the Independents, or Congregationalists, who held that each congregation should manage its own religious affairs, were as shocking to the Presbyterian section of the Puritans as they were to High Churchmen. Even Independents had strict limits to their toleration of other people's ideas. Cromwell, himself an Independent, excluded Catholics and Anglicans from toleration, though he did not persecute them vigorously. The Puritans of certain American colonies proved themselves absolutely intolerant in religious matters.

After the Restoration, religious intolerance broke out again in the persecution of the Puritans, and in the popular hatred and fear of Catholics. But two factors were favourable to the growth of toleration. Many of the upper class were becoming quite indifferent in religious matters. Secondly, the Whig party had

the support of the Puritan Dissenters, and were inclined to keep their allies by advocating toleration for them. Though the Stuart Declarations of Indulgence failed, a Toleration Act followed the Revolution. The right of people to worship as they pleased was established, except that Catholics and Dissenters were still excluded from a share in the government of the country.



BUST OF NEWTON, TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

In the first half of the seventeenth century Puritanism was not confined to any one class, but was common both among townspeople and country gentry. But when, after the Restoration, the Clarendon Code excluded Dissenters from a share in both local and central government, most of the moderate Puritans returned to the Church. The nobility and gentry, whether Whig or Tory, was usually Anglican in religion, as were the country

people Dissent became associated with the middle classes and with the people of the towns Moreover, the nation was becoming less interested in religious questions Science and philosophy, rather than religion, were beginning to claim the attention of intellectual people, and many of the upper classes were frankly sceptical

NEWSPAPERS, SCIENCE, AND LITERATURE

During the Stuart period literature began to play an important part in politics, and pamphlets and newspapers were freely used to influence public opinion

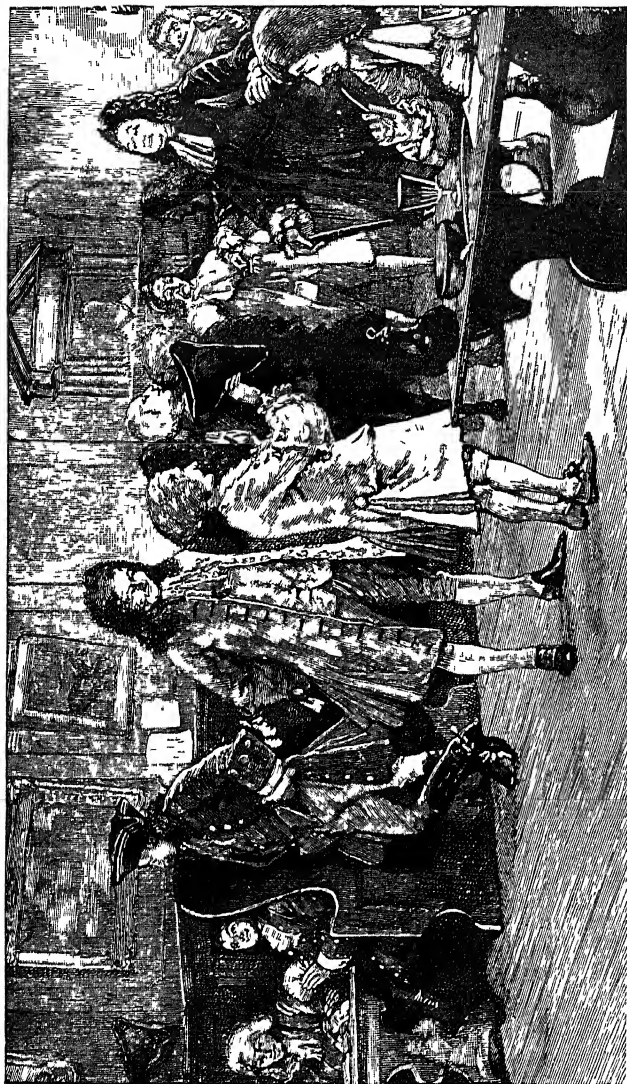
Newspapers began when men of importance paid some writers in London to keep them informed of what was happening there The writers of these "news-letters" often had many clients, and a wide market for the news which they provided It was only a step from the news-letter to the newspaper

The Stuart newspapers were always intended not only to give news, but to support some particular view of politics They are remarkable for their attacks upon rival newspapers, and their information is always given from a prejudiced standpoint Newspapers were used as propaganda by the government, and Oliver Cromwell suppressed all but government papers But regulation of the press was not constant, and, in the later years of Charles II's reign, Shaftesbury used a newspaper to spread the views of the Whig opposition, while the Court-party was represented by another

Religious and political parties had their pamphlet writers to support them In some cases these were men of genius, like Milton at the time of the Commonwealth, or Swift, who attacked the Whig party in Anne's reign in his "Conduct of the Allies" Pamphlet writers were still personally abusive, as they had been in Elizabethan times, and as ready to castigate their opponents as to deal with their arguments

Satire was an important political weapon, and was used, not only by Swift, but by the poet, Dryden In his "Absalom and Achitophel" he satirised the Whigs' attempt to use Monmouth as their political leader in their opposition to his father Charles II

None of this propaganda could reach the lower classes, who still remained uneducated But the upper classes, and especially



COFFEE HOUSE IN THE REIGN OF QUEEN ANNE

the Court, had a fair measure of culture. Society after the Restoration, if coarse, was witty, and interested both in science and in literature. In 1662 Charles II. granted a charter to the "Royal Society," whose members carried out important scientific experiments, and included the great scientist, Sir Isaac Newton.

A great change is noticeable in literature in the second half of the century. The first half had maintained Elizabethan traditions, and the great poet, Milton, seems closer to the Elizabethans than to his contemporary, Dryden. Charming lyric poetry had been written by Herrick and the poets known as the "Cavalier Lyrists," while there had been a great deal of poetry that reflected the religious feeling of the time. After the Restoration a change occurred. Poetry became neat and witty, rather than lyric, and brilliant satires were written, such as those of Dryden. Prose lost the splendour of the Authorised Version of the Bible, but it became clear, simple, and carefully balanced. These changes persisted throughout the eighteenth century.

THE STUART PERIOD 1603-1714

JAMES I, 1603-1625

CHARLES I, 1625-1649

COMMONWEALTH AND PROTECTORATE, 1649-1660

CHARLES II, 1660-1685

JAMES II, 1685-1688

WILLIAM III, 1688-1702 (MARY, 1668-1694)

ANNE, 1702-1714

| | <i>England, Scotland, Ireland</i> | <i>Europe</i> | <i>The Empire</i> |
|------|--|-------------------------------|--|
| 1600 | | | 1600 East India Co founded |
| | 1603 Millenary Petition | | |
| | 1604 { Hampton Court Conference Gunpowder Plot | | |
| 1605 | 1606 Bate's Case | | 1606 Plantation of Virginia |
| 1610 | | | 1612 Trading station at Surat |
| | 1613 Marriage of Elizabeth Stuart to the Elector Palatine | | |
| | 1614 "Addled" Parliament | | |
| 1615 | | | |
| 1620 | | 1620 Battle of the White Hill | 1620 The "Mayflower" Beginning of New England States |
| | 1621 Protestation of the Commons | | |
| | | | 1622 Massacre of Amboyna |
| 1625 | | 1625 Mansfeld's Expedition | |
| | 1625 Marriage of Charles I and Henrietta Maria | | |
| | | 1627 Anglo-French War | |
| | 1628 { Petition of Right Assassination of Buckingham | | |
| | | | 1629 Massachusetts founded |
| 1630 | | 1630 | |
| | 1633 National Covenant (Scotland) | | |
| 1635 | | | 1636 Connecticut founded |
| | 1637 Hampden's Case | | 1637 Rhode Island " |

| | <i>England, Scotland, Ireland</i> | <i>Europe</i> | <i>The Empire</i> |
|------|--|----------------------------------|--|
| | 1638 1st Bishop's War | | 1638 New Hampshire founded |
| | | | 1639 { Maryland „ Madras „ |
| 1640 | 1640 { Short Parlia- ment Long Parliament began | | |
| | 1642 | | |
| 1645 | 1645 1st Civil War | | |
| | 1648 2nd Civil War and Pride's Purge | | |
| | 1649 Execution of Charles I | | |
| 1650 | 1650 Battle of Dunbar | | |
| | 1651 Battle of Worces- ter | | |
| | | 1652 | |
| | 1653 { Expulsion of the Rump Barebone's Parlia- ment Instrument of Government | 1st Dutch War | |
| | | 1654 Treaty of West- minster | |
| 1655 | 1655 { Rule of the Major-Gener- als | | 1656 Capture of Ja- maica |
| | 1656 | | |
| | 1657 Humble Petition and Advice | | |
| | | 1658 Capture of Dun- kirk | |
| 1660 | 1660 Restoration of Charles II | | |
| | 1661 { Act Recissory (Scotland) Corporation Act | 1661 French marriage alliance | 1661 Bombay acquired |
| | 1662 Act of Uniformity | 1662 Sale of Dunkirk | 1662 African Co chart- ered |
| | 1664 Conventicle Act | | 1663 The Carolinas founded |
| | | | 1664 Dutch colonies in America seized |
| 1665 | 1665 { Five Mile Act Great Plague | 1665 | |
| | 1666 Fire of London | 2nd Dutch War | |
| | 1667 Fall of Clarendon | 1667 | |

| | <i>England, Scotland, Ireland</i> | <i>Europe</i> | <i>The Empire</i> |
|------|---|--|---------------------------|
| | | 1668 Triple Alliance | |
| | 1669 "Black Indulgence" (Scotland) | | |
| 1670 | | 1670 Treaty of Dover | |
| | 1672 Declaration of Indulgence | 1672 | |
| | 1673 Test Act | 3rd Dutch War | |
| 1375 | | 1674 | |
| | | 1677 Marriage of William and Mary | |
| | 1678 Popish Plot scare | | |
| | 1679 Battles of Drumclog and Bothwell Brig | | |
| 1680 | | | |
| | 1681 Failure of Exclusion Bill | | 1682 Pennsylvania founded |
| | 1683 Rye House Plot | | |
| 1685 | 1685 Battle of Sedgemoor | | |
| | 1686 Hales' Case | 1686 League of Augsburg | |
| | 1687 Declaration of Indulgence | | |
| | 1688 Trial of the Bishops The Revolution | | |
| | 1689 Bill of Rights | | |
| 1690 | 1690 Battle of the Boyne | 1690 War of the English Succession | |
| | 1691 Treaty of Limerick | | |
| | | 1692 Battles of Steinkirk and Neerwinden | |
| | 1693 Beginning of National Debt | | |
| | 1694 Triennial Act Foundation of Bank of England | | |
| 1695 | | 1695 Mons captured | |
| | | 1697 Treaty of Ryswick | |

| | <i>England, Scotland, Ireland</i> | <i>Europe</i> | <i>The Empire</i> |
|------|--|---|-------------------|
| 1700 | | 1698. 1st Partition Treaty. 1700. 2nd Partition Treaty. | |
| | 1701. Act of Settlement. | 1701. Grand Alliance. 1702 War of the Spanish Succession. | |
| | | 1703. Methuen Treaty | |
| | 1704. Act of Security (Scotland). | 1704. { Battle of Blenheim Capture of Gibraltar | |
| 1705 | 1705. Somers' Act. | | |
| | 1707. Act of Union. | 1706. Battle of Ramillies. 1707. Battle of Almanza. 1708. Battle of Oudenarde. 1709. Battle of Malplaquet. | |
| 1710 | 1710. Sacheverell Case. (Fall of Whig ministry.) | 1710. Battle of Brihuega. | |
| 1715 | | 1713. Peace of Utrecht. | |

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